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ECONOMIC HANDBOOKS



INDIAN POPULATION

By

D. G. KARVE

Principal, B. M. College of Commerce, Poona

INDIAN POPULATION—A CHALLENGE AND AN OPPORTUNITY

by

D. G. KARVE

Sufficient attention has not been given to a proper study of our population problem, and confused ideas prevail even in responsible quarters on the same. Important changes have occurred because of the partition and the consequent developments in the political and economic structure of the country. Now that the political and economic policy of the country is in our own hands, it is desirable that those responsible for shaping economic policy should be conscious of the problem, and have a correct attitude on it. Most people avoid the complications of the population problem, because it is usually presented with a mass of statistical details which either frighten or tire away the average reader. Principal Karve explains within the space of this small book, in a simple manner, the nature and magnitude of the problem, and emphasises the importance of having clear ideas on the subject, so that our social and economic policy may be directed in the right channels. He presents the subject in a manner by which the lay reader may be able to follow it with interest. As the Editor points out in his Preface unlike other authors, Principal Karve has a refreshing outlook on the subject which, it is hoped, will stimulate thought and lead to action for economic progress in the right direction.

ECONOMIC HANDBOOKS No. 3. Editor: C. N. VAKIL

INDIAN POPULATION

A Challenge and An Opportunity

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE SERIES

The object of these handbooks is to present in a simple manner different economic problems relating to India as well as those in which India is likely to be interested. The Series will aim at covering the entire range of economic problems in course of time. Special attention will be given as far as possible to current topics. The treatment will be scientific, and each handbook will be written by a person who has specialised in the particular subject and will, therefore, be authoritative. The exposition will be such that it may be easy for the layman to understand the problem. The Series will thus stimulate interest in the complex and changing economic problems of the country and promote better understanding of the same. The need for an intelligent appreciation of such problems by the public under the new political conditions in the country is obvious, and it is hoped that this Series will supply that want.

THE HANDBOOK

Anyone considering the problem of the economic development of India is presented with the dilemma of the increase of population at such a rate that any possible increase in the production of the country may still leave the per capita income of the country low, thus making the possibility of raising the standard of life of the people as remote as ever. This tendency has led many thinkers to adopt a pessimistic attitude towards our economic problem. Some seriously believe that unless the growth of population is controlled by artificial means, there is no hope for the country. As social conditions in the country make the widespread adoption of preventive methods of population control unlikely in the near future, this feeling is likely to degenerate into a counsel of despair and a plea for inaction.

Principal Karve brings a ray of hope in this otherwise dark picture. In the first place he pleads for a correct understanding of the population problem at least by the educated classes.

His emphasis on the absence of population consciousness i responsible quarters is revealing. It is hoped that his appe for awareness of the problem among those who influence opinio and policy in the country will not fall on deaf ears.

While recognising that India is overpopulated and that th situation has worsened during the last few decades, by an ex haustive analysis of the population-trends in other countries h concludes that economic progress has itself after a time-la a tendency to slow down the rate of increase. According t him, there is no reason to doubt that the same experience wi not be repeated in India. Once therefore we achieve som sizable economic progress the Indian population is likely t assume manageable proportions. The population problen thus presented becomes, instead of a dilemma, a challenge and a opportunity. This refreshing outlook of Principal Karve will I hope, stimulate thought on the subject and action for economi progress in the right direction.

C. N. VAKIL

School of Economics & Sociology,
University of Bombay,
12th May 1948

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This brief study of Indian population does not claim to be a detailed analysis of the whole of our population problem. It seeks to convey to the general reader an economist's approach to a subject which is very much in the mind of all those who take an intelligent interest in our social and economic policy. To the economist it might suggest a few lines of further investigation. In any case it ought to set at rest the inexperienced planner's fears to the effect that whatever he may do to raise the country's productive capacity, population will beat him in the end. Let us take care of our economy, and population for the most part will take care of itself.

POONA
February 1948

D. G. KARVE

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CHAPTER I

Population Consciousness

Population and Improvement of Society

Many parts of the so-called Malthusian Theory of Population are now discredited and still all careful and conscientious students of the subject have to recognise that for more modern times the significance of Malthus' work, far from being reduced, is actually greater than it was in his own days, now about 150 years since. Among the many cogent reasons for this prevailing view among authoritative circles is the approach to the population situation indicated in the full title of Malthus' work. The title of Malthus' book when first published in 1798 was: "An Essay on the Principle of Population as It Affects the Future Improvement of Society." While much has been written about the exposition of the principle itself in Malthus' work it has been left only to the few discerning students to recognise the conscious relationship between population and "the future improvement of society" to which Malthus draws pointed attention in the title of his book. Like all writers on sociological topics Malthus wrote for his own times. It was, therefore, inevitable that his posing of the problem as also his outline of the suggested methods to solve it should soon have been found to be incorrect and inapplicable. It cannot, however, be denied that among modern writers Malthus was the first to recognise the existence of a population problem as a part of the problem of improvement of society.

Emergence of the Population Problem

Our objective environment is a problem only to those who believe in their responsibility and capacity for so modifying it as to promote a desired mode of life. For people who take the world, including themselves, for granted there is no problem at all. A purposeful outlook on things is essential for recognising a problem when we meet one. Even when an active social consciousness has been roused everything that we notice in our environment is not necessarily a "problem."

An objective phenomenon in the environment of a people does not in itself constitute a social problem. There must be an awareness of the implication of objective fact to the welfare of the social group. A social problem begins "in the awakening of people in a given locality to a realisation that certain cherished values are threatened by conditions which have become acute."[1] A population problem can exist only for people who consider themselves competent either to judge or to influence the population situation in the context of their social welfare. For such people a population problem would actually emerge if they felt that in its existing state population adversely affected the welfare of society. "A given population phenomenon may or may not be considered a problem. Population phenomena are identified with problems when they are considered to have some particular undesirable social meaning. The Chinese still multiply by millions, numbers being limited primarily by death rather than by controlling birth. Among most groups in the Chinese population there is probably no awareness of social problems arising from excessive birth rates. In Japan, on the contrary, there is considerable awareness of difficulties arising from an excessive birth rate and from an attempt to gain control over births."[2]

The Population Problem in India

The particular reference to China and Japan, and especially the juxtaposition beween the two countries in point of population awareness, may or may not be accurate. But the underlying principle is significant for our study of the Indian population. If we in India do not consider ourselves competent to alter our social environment so as to favour a desired objective of social welfare, or recognising such competence we consider that population trends in our country have no adverse influence on the prospects of our realising such welfare there would be no population problem in India. Students of Indian population will do well to recognise that while in almost all progressive countries population trends have for one reason or another been recognised as worthwhile objects of study by social reformers and planners, here in

1. Richard C. Fuller and Richard E. Myers quoted by Paul H. Landis—*Population Problems : A Cultural Interpretation*, p. 7
2. Paul H. Landis : *Ibid* pp. 6-7.

our country many people who enjoy positions of official or unofficial authority refuse to admit the existence of a problem of population. Leaving alone persons who claim to speak from a high philosophical level, and confining our attention to constituted public administrations it would be unbelievable, if it were not borne out by documentary and public expressions of opinion, that a large number of these simply refuse to admit that our existing population trends are a problem, or that a specific effort to alter them is socially necessary. The Famine Inquiry Commission of 1945 had circularised a specific question on this subject to all the provincial governments in India, and the replies that the question evoked are a study in the extent of our awareness of the population problem.

Attitude of Provincial Governments

The question, almost in the approved academic fashion, ran as follows: "Having regard to the present size of the population of your province and its potential growth, and having regard also to the present and potential resources of your province, are you convinced that measures should now be undertaken for securing a limitation of the rate of increase of the population? If so, state and discuss the measures you would recommend for the purpose."s Out of the eleven provincial administrations as many as seven returned replies either denying the existence of any need for action or denying the possibility of the same. The Assam Government stated that limitation of birth rate is not at all necessary if they were only allowed to use their resources. The Bengal administration held that control of birth rate was not imperative though they favoured steps to promote spacing of births and the raising of the age of marriage. Madras, the home of the first birth-control league in the country, said through its government, that a check on population was neither feasible nor necessary. They were confident that with economic development all the population may be fed. The Government of Orissa declared that in view of the possibilities for extension and intensification of cultivation it was not necessary at the time to restrict the rate of births. Punjab struck a strong note of dissent. Both from the point of view

3. Famine Report, pp. 427—33.

of religion and of the defence of the country, they felt it would seem rather too early to advocate birth control on a mass scale in that province. Sind blandly assured the Famine Commission that for the present there was no danger of overpopulation.

None of these provinces, each demurring to any suggestion of a slow population policy, could muster enough strength to put the Commission in its place. That feat was attempted by the warlike province of the North-West Frontier. Their remarks are so characteristic of a certain extensive, though not always so vocal, school of thought in the country that they deserve to be reproduced in full. "This question begs the answer to an important ethical and sociological problem. This government presumes that in peace time the Russian proverb 'the world is not tied up in a corner' applies. This government draws attention to the fact that the object of the Hot Springs and other similar and subsequent conferences has been to ensure sufficient food for all classes of persons throughout the world, and that it is not intended to allow pre-war economical exigencies of reducing production to maintain prices, and destruction of essential commodities for the same purpose to continue. Provided the world is regarded as a unit and not as distinct parts, it is clear that there is more than sufficient for the existing population and for an increasing population. Speedy means of transport are available and will become increasingly so. Hence the problem of distribution is not insoluble. This government feels that these probably self-evident facts should be stressed because, outside the opinion of a few of the reformed Christian Churches, the idea of birth control is repugnant to all other religions, and would be considered by them as a method of enforcing the Nazi ideas of a 'Herenvolk.' All religions of India accept Genesis 28 [4] in its literal sense as a binding commandment and would resent any action, particularly of non-Indian origin, whereby restriction of birth was to be secured, or enforced, while sufficient for their livelihood is available in the world. This does not necessarily mean provision on the spot of deficiencies, but could apply to large areas of the world, which at present are underpopulated.

4. Genesis 28 : 3. And God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a multitude of people.

This government, therefore, feels that the Famine Inquiry Commission would be well advised not to proceed with the examination of this question further since it must raise issues outside the immediate problem under consideration."

Even allowing for interesting peculiarities of style this reply represents a capacity of wishful thinking and an incapacity to judge an objective situation, both of which constitute an insurmountable barrier to rational thought. While the opinion expressed by the Frontier Government is in some respects unique there is no doubt that its substance finds a resting place in many quarters of opinion in the country. Fortunately, there are at least some provincial administrations which recognise the existence of a population problem even in the best of circumstances, though naturally they do not always agree with one another with regard to the remedies to solve the same. Bihar, for instance, felt that the question posed by the Commission admitted of no other answer than to emphasise the urgency of adopting measures to restrict the rate of increase of the population. The United Provinces Government admitted that planned parenthood was desirable, but added that the number of children should be according to economic status. The Central Provinces Government while admitting the need for limitation felt that it would be better attained by raising the standard of life of the people. The Government of Bombay did more than any other provincial government in rationalising its opinion. It straightway admitted that in terms of the Commission's question, limitation of population is obviously necessary. As however, birth-control measures do not find favour with ignorant and poorer sections of population, it felt that spread of literacy and increase in the standard of life should be attempted. The Bombay Government also declared that steps to make the citizen more alive to his duties and responsibilities would be welcome.

A reference has been made to this assortment of opinions of provincial governments, not with a view, at this stage, to judging between them, but for the purpose of substantiating the view that as yet there is not enough awareness of the existence of a population problem among even the presumably responsible sections of the community. This state of things is all the more disappointing in view of the obvious truth, or what to any well-wisher of his country and a trained

student of the subject would appear to be an obvious truth, that the process of our transition from an economy of starvation, first to an economy of subsistence and then to an economy of surplus is seriously impeded by the disproportion between augmentation of numbers and improvement of our resources. The pity is not that we do not recognise that there is a particular type of population problem, that of excessive rate of increase of population, because that is a matter of opinion, but that we refuse to have any opinion based on objective data. We do not leave the moralist to talk of religious objections, or the soldier to raise military objections, or to the politician to raise the bogey of race suicide, but must mix up all these significant but distinct issues in considering the economic aspects of population as well. Ultimate decisions on social policy may have to depend on a balancing of all these considerations, but the final judgment is not helped by ignoring the economic implications. At any rate for an economist the correlation between population and wealth, *i.e.*, an augmentation of the resources available to each individual for a happy life ought to be the chief object of inquiry.

Population and Food Supply : Malthus

Wealth, not necessarily in the sense of abundance but as meaning the available quantum of resources necessary for a happy life, is admittedly an object of social planning. The outlook of Malthus in treating of population was essentially social, not biological or religious, though he seemed to have assumed a certain biological law of human reproduction, and though he perhaps on account of having been a clergyman, seemed to suffer from a religious inhibition in the matter of voluntary birth-control. His version of the natural rate of the growth of population, that it conforms to a geometrically increasing series, and that of food resources, which, perhaps on account of the prevailing views among economists about the law of diminishing returns, he thought could increase only by small doses, *i.e.*, in an arithmetical ratio, need not be taken as a scientifically or statistically exact statement. It is obvious that he was resorting in his use of these mathematical expressions to a telling mode of representing what he thought was an inherent natural contradiction. He has in his essay resorted to other figura-

tive ways of expressing the same conviction about a natural contrast between the rates of increase of the food supply and the numbers of a people, and the inherent need of deliberate action in both spheres if a happy social life was to be attained. Elucidating the bearing of his principle of population on the prospects of human welfare, Malthus uses another metaphorical expression which is more revealing. As the basic approach to the problem of population is correctly and conveniently brought out in this alternative expression by Malthus it deserves a full quotation:

"The object of those who really wish to better the condition of the lower classes of society," says Malthus, "must be to raise the relative proportion between the price of labour and the price of provisions, so as to enable the labourer to command a larger share of the necessaries and comforts of life. In an endeavour to raise the proportion of the quantity of provisions to the number of consumers in any country our attention would naturally be first directed to the increasing of the absolute quantity of provisions; but finding that, as fast as we did this, the number of consumers more than kept pace with it, and that with all our exertions we were still as far as ever behind, we should be convinced that our efforts directed only in this way would never succeed. It would appear to be setting the tortoise to catch the hare. Finding, therefore, that from the laws of nature we could not proportion the food to the population, our next attempt should naturally be to proportion the population to the food. If we can persuade the hare to go to sleep, the tortoise may have some chance of overtaking it." Lest he be treated as an unredeemed pessimist Malthus goes on to say: "We are not, however, to relax our efforts in increasing the quantity of provisions, but to combine another effort with it; that of keeping the population, when once it has been overtaken, at such a distance behind as to effect the relative proportion which we desire; and thus to unite the two grand *desiderata*, a great actual population and a state of society in which abject poverty and dependence are comparatively but little known; two objects which are far from being incompatible."[5]

5. Malthus: *Essay on Population*, Book IV, Chapter III.

Population and Food Supply : Carr Saunders

In relying on laws of nature as distinct from appropriate modes of human behaviour Malthus was instrumental in giving an appearance of inexorability to the perpetual race between population and food. That he was not altogether without hope of sending the hare of human reproduction to sleep pending the progress of the tortoise of production of resources is clear from the concluding part of the extract given above. It is indeed indicated by some other parts of his essay that he was not very hopeful of the speedy success of a process of birth regulation and of the augmentation of wealth. Herein consists the peculiar influence of the then popular doctrine of diminishing returns and of Malthus' own awe for the Biblical exhortation in favour of marriage and multiplication. These, however, must be considered as less important parts of his law of population than the clear posing of the problem of relationship between the trends of population and the prospects of the augmentation of wealth. Carr Saunders, famous British authority on population, puts the essence of the Malthusian viewpoint as follows: "while a new pair of hands accompanies every new mouth that comes into the world, it is only under certain circumstances that the new pair of hands will produce as much food as is produced on the average by those pairs of hands already in existence and at work. To this must be added the fact, which is in part a consequence of what has just been said, that checks to the increase of population are in operation at all places and at all times owing to the limitation of the amount of food available."[6] Before the era of world wars and world economy it was usual to underrate, if not altogether to ignore, the emphatic mention of food supply as distinguished from total wealth. It was felt that so long as the total production of wealth in a community can assure to it the means of purchasing food, it could always rely on foreign imports to satisfy its needs in the matter. To a certain extent the situation is still the same, and in face of the extensive areas of cultivable land awaiting the plough in the newer countries there is no occasion for any single country to despair of getting adequate food so long as it has the means to pay for it. It cannot, however, be denied that we are already within sight, somewhat distant

6. Carr Saunders: *Population*, p. 23.

though it may be, of a time when the full food-growing capacity of the world would be tapped. While improvement in methods of cultivation may be relied upon to augment the yields in several cases, it must be conceded as a matter of practical economic policy that we cannot now ignore, either for an individual country or for the world as a whole, the influence of available food supply on population. What was true of England in the days of Malthus is now true of some other countries individually, and may at no distant date be true of the world as a whole.

Population and per capita Income

Considering the absolute potentialities of food production the prospect of a world population pressing on the food resources of the globe may be brushed aside as too distant for immediate anxiety. Apart from such considerations as strategic self-sufficiency and the terms of commercial exchange we can afford for purposes of immediate policy to concentrate on total, instead of only food, resources. The demographic situation is generally assessed in terms of its bearing on the prospects of economic improvement. The yardstick to measure economic condition is the per capita net production or average income of a people. As this income is the result of the application of human labour to other resources such as capital, including credit, land and technical and business organisation, it follows that for making the best possible use of productive resources other than human labour, there is a certain number, composition and character of population that is considered to be most desirable; in the sense of being most productive. From the strictly economic standpoint we would desire such an ideally advantageous population. As the definite content of non-human productive resources and of their future variation cannot ever be accurately measured, and as in certain respects human resources do interact on non-human resources, an exact quantitative expression cannot be found for the ideal population. But in the field of population policy quantitative measurement is of lesser importance than the trend revealed by facts of the economic situation. The ratio of an expected increase in output to a likely increase in population is well calculated to indicate the likely variation from the ideal population situation.

Optimum Population

As a statement on demographic problems prepared by a sub-committee of the I.L.O. and the League of Nations puts it: "Theoretically it may be said that there is an optimum population for any country at any given time. This optimum is the figure which, in view of the total economic resources of the country, can enable the population to enjoy the highest possible standard of living. The optimum is not a fixed value, for it naturally varies according to the extent of the resources, and it should be interpreted as a curve rather than as a figure. The optimum population movement for a country would therefore be that whereby the ratio of the population to the resources of the country varied in such a way as to provide the highest standard of living compatible with the resources of the country at any given moment. A country whose population at any time falls below this optimum may be considered underpopulated, which means that an increase in its population would enable it to improve its standard of living. Similarly, a country whose population is at any time higher than the optimum may be said to be overpopulated. If the actual population figure for a country tends to come closer to the optimum population—that is, if the demographic movement makes an improvement of the standard of living possible—demographic tension will become less. On the contrary, it will be accentuated and may become alarming if the movement of population is such as to increase the divergence between the actual population and the optimum population, thereby producing a gradual decline in the standard of living."[7] It is thus in terms of the conformity of the actual standard of life with the highest that is physically and economically possible that the population situation has to be judged. It is this relationship and not the absolute numbers of a population or its birth and death rates that gives significant connotation to such terms as over-and under-population.

Over and under-Population

The output per head of population and probable variations in the same is the surest index of the economic den-

7. Population and Social Problems: International Labour Review. March, 1939.

sity of a population that we can hope to have. A country can be said to be absolutely overpopulated if the per head economic output is not enough to provide for the bare physical needs of the population and if there is reason to believe that the per capita output will increase if a smaller population were to be employed to exploit the existing resources. If the prevailing state of general idigence of a people is held to be due to a paucity of workers to make the best use of productive resources the situation could be described as an absolute underpopulation. A state of absolute overpopulation exists in many industrially undeveloped countries. With the colonisation of almost all the known parts of the globe there are few significant cases of absolute underpopulation. A community which is above the level of subsistence may yet have a problem of relative over-or under-population. If it is felt that any increase in population of such a country will be accompanied by a fall in the per capita income, or, to be more exact, by a less advantageous per capita output than would be possible with the existing population, the situation is one of relative overpopulation. On the other hand if a country which is not altogether indigent but expects that with decrease in population its per capita output will be lowered it is said to be relatively underpopulated. There are many other more refined ways in which the notions of the optimum, over-and under-population can be expressed. For a general study of the Indian population it is enough to know that a country whose per capita output is not enough to provide for the physical wants of its people is absolutely overpopulated. The same country, or even a more fortunately situated country, would be relatively overpopulated if it is felt that a decrease in population would enhance the prospects of its realising a higher per capita output from its existing or prospective productive resources.

Poverty and Population

It is easy, indeed too easy, to pick holes in the traditional Malthusian theory. While there is hope in recent evidence which successfully challenges the undercurrent of inexorability in the Malthusian doctrine, even a stronger feeling of responsibility is induced by Malthus' own and more modern thought on population. Among the influences that are responsible for human welfare the relationship be-

tween the numbers and trends of population on the one hand and the existing and prospective standards of life on the other is a very important one. While there is no occasion for an alarmist view to be taken on purely abstract or theoretical grounds the need to study the correlation between population and resources is ever present even for the most prosperous of countries. For us in India, where a generation is growing which has not known for years what a full and healthy meal is, the need is all the greater. No fond hopes and no preconceived prejudices ought to stand in the way of a realistic appraisal of the bearing of our population on our poverty. Neither theory nor experience has yet proved that population is either the only or a prime cause of poverty, but both these have indicated with sufficient assurance that the way out of poverty to prosperity for an old country lies along Malthus' two grand *desiderata*, a "great actual population and a state of society in which abject poverty and dependence are comparatively but little known." [8]

8. D. G. Karve: *Population and Progress: Historical and Economic Studies.* pp. 119—136.

CHAPTER II

TORTOISE AND HARE

Population and Planning

Population consciousness is an aspect of general social consciousness. This has been induced at different times and places by a variety of considerations. Many states like Sparta and Rome of antiquity and Germany and Italy in recent years have felt that they were underpopulated with regard to their political and military objectives. The newer colonies like Australia and New Zealand feel that for a fuller and more advantageous utilisation of their vast natural resources a bigger population would be necessary. In the United Kingdom population is facing the prospect of stagnation if not of actual reduction. While steps are being taken to arouse social consciousness in favour of an increased rate of growth, foreign labour has been imported to keep the national industry at full level of activity. In the Scandinavian countries now for over two generations a position of balance between needs of employment and numbers of population has been successfully maintained. In the days of the great depression before the commencement of World War II, a feeling of doubt as to the capacity of the industrialised countries to maintain their populations in conditions of widespread unemployment had been entertained. The adoption of a policy of social security, by which the state undertakes to provide employment for its able-bodied citizens while at the same time supplying the means of education and occupational equipment for the young and a reasonable standard of maintenance for those who for reasons of ill-health, incapacity or old age are not able to earn their living, has led the industrial nations to think out a definite population policy. The bearing of given population trends on the maximisation of per capita output on the one hand and the maintenance of schemes of social security on the other is being intensively studied. This is not to suggest that only through population planning the countries concerned hope to ensure

the desired balance between social needs and social product. Other organisational and technological factors are also being attended to. It is, however, clear that there is a well recognised population aspect of the general social and economic policy sought to be adopted in each country.

Population and Planning in India

None of the industrially advanced countries is, however, below the margin of subsistence and none of them is suffering from the present or imminent danger of overpopulation. In both these respects the Indian situation offers a contrast. The all-pervading poverty of this country which indeed borders on indigence for a large part of the population has always raised doubt in the minds of all thinking people as to whether the hopes of a substantial improvement in the economic situation of the people would not be frustrated by the persistent trends towards large, though intermittent, increases revealed by successive censuses. More recently the problem has been posed on an even more urgent and realistic level on account of the aggravation of the food situation in the country. In its present form the food shortage in India is a temporary problem due mainly to the war and its aftermath. For the world as a whole the devastation of large food-growing areas in Europe and their slow restoration to normal use has created an unprecedented shortage of food supplies, which can only partially be met out of the surplus production of countries of the new world. In regard to India the war-time devastation of Burma and its slow recovery constitute a serious problem. Whereas before the Second World War India was importing between one and two million tons of rice from that country only a few thousand tons are now imported. This phase of restoration in war-devastated countries of the west and of the east is however a temporary one, and in spite of the adverse influence of unsettled political conditions it is bound to end during the next few years. Difficulties of foreign imports of food ought not to be treated as a significant factor while judging the population situation in India.

More important from the long-term and internal view point is the recent separation of the country into two dominions. Whatever measure of economic co-operation may be attained between India and Pakistan the fact that movements

of commodities across the Indo-Pakistan border would now fall under external trade cannot be ignored. In the absence of a major reversal of political trends in the two dominions, and especially in Pakistan, it must now be assumed that for its economic planning the Indian Dominion must rely on its own resources. The best that can be expected from the Pakistan Government would be friendly co-operation for a worthwhile consideration. This change in the situation has a very vital bearing on the food situation. Western Punjab and Sind, the two principal surplus provinces, are definitely cut away from the rest of India. The Central Provinces, Assam and Orissa, which are the surplus provinces left in the Indian Union, are not by any means comparable with the Western Punjab and Sind, which had not only large actual, but even larger potential, surpluses. While a very exact statistical analysis and correlation on this single point is not relevant to the population situation, the following facts regarding the trends of per capita cultivated land under food and the prospects of further addition to cultivated area in the various provinces have a significance which cannot be overlooked.

Net per capita Area Sown and Yield

The net per capita area sown, allowing for the use of the same land for more than one sowing during a year, has steadily dwindled since 1911. This can be seen from the following figures :

Net per Capita Area Sown

Year	*Acre*
1911	0.90
1921	0.88
1931	0.82
1941	0.72

There is thus a fall of 20% in the per capita area under crops. That there has been no corresponding or even appreciable increase in the yield per acre, especially of food crops, will be seen from the following table which represents the trend, so far as collected statistics can be relied upon, for the last fifteen years.

Yield of Selected Crops
(Lb. per acre)

Crop	1931-33	1934-36	1937-39	1940-42	1943-45
1. Rice	852	806	766	731	779
2. Wheat	607	639	671	674	624
3. Cotton	78	91	89	102	105
4. Groundnut ..	939	868	857	870	799
5. Linseed ..	272	238	241	260	216
6. Sugar (raw) ..	2,985	2,442	2,832	2,915	3,061
7. Jute	1,263	1,309	1,094	992	1,139

Allowing for the effect of seasons on the yield of crops it will be seen that, except perhaps in the case of cotton, there has been no tendency towards increased yield. That the effect, if any, of a movement towards better farming is almost non-existent will be seen from the following statement in which Indian yields are compared with yields in some foreign countries at different levels of agricultural progress.

Yield per acre (Lb.)

Country	*Rice*	*Wheat*
China ..	..1435	989
Egypt ..	..2079	1496
Japan ..	..2307	1318
Italy ..	..3000	900
U.S.A. ..	..1481	990

It would be seen that for decades past average sown area per head of population is going down and the yields per acre show little more than minor or seasonal variation. For the year 1941 the average net area sown is, as noted above, 0.72 acre. But the net area under food crops is only 0.57 acre. In terms of nutritional potential this area is miserably small. Dr. O. E. Barker, Agricultural expert from U.S.A. where yields per acre are appreciably higher than in India, has calculated the per capita requirement in respect of cultivated area for different standards of dietary as follows :—

(A)	Emergency Restricted Diet ..	1.2 Acres.
(B)	Adequate Diet at Minimum Cost	1.8 ,,
(C)	Adequate Diet at Moderate Cost	2.3 ,,
(D)	Liberal Diet	3.1 ,,

Even for what would pass as emergency restricted diet in the U.S.A. the per capita area under food in India has, it would appear, to be doubled. For anything like adequacy, leave alone liberality, the whole land area of the country would not suffice if the existing population number and the yield capacity were to continue. It is not necessary in this place to speak of the diversion of food to non-food uses of land, nor of the many ways in which it is possible, though not necessarily feasible, to revolutionise the yields. The plain truth of the matter is that even if all the cultivable land in the country was put under food crops and the best possible system of cultivation was introduced there would not be enough food locally produced for the existing and prospective population if the present trends continue. This would in any case have been the situation for the country as a whole. That the prospects in this respect for the Indian Dominion have been worsened as a result of the division of the country has already been indicated. This is so not only because the granaries of the Punjab and Sind are now outside our influence but also because of the more limited chances for the further expansion in cultivated area available for the Indian provinces. The following figures of the extent to which cultivable land has already been put under the plough in the several provinces ought to prove significant :—

Further Extension in Cultivation

India		Pakistan		Divided	
Province	% of cultivated to cultivable land	Province	% of cultivated to cultivable land	Province	% of cultivated to cultivable land
Bihar	99	N.W.F.	49	Bengal	83
U.P.	80	Sind	40	Punjab	69
Madras	78				
Bombay	97				
Orissa	70				
Assam	34				
C.P.	67				

It will thus be seen that for the whole continent the prospect of substantial addition to the area under cultivation is not very bright and that for the Indian Dominion as distinguished from Pakistan territories it is even less encouraging. A more scientific and better organised survey, such as the one recommended by the Famine Commission of 1945, may reveal some bright spots. But on the whole it would be correct to say that a marked improvement in the average per capita area under cultivation cannot be sought by an increase in the total area under cultivation. The comparative failure of the Grow More Food Campaign to add more land to that already under food crops except by diversion from other crops need not surprise anybody if the clear meaning of the long-term trends towards full pressure on food lands is clearly grasped. Even apart from the acute difficulties created by the war, there is abundant evidence to show that on the extremely low standards of consumption to which the people of this country have got accustomed there was a noticeable surplus of food production before 1931, that since then gradually the situation worsened and after 1937 India ceased to produce enough food for its people even on that low standard.

Significance of Falling Man-Cultivated Land Ratio

The falling ratio of cultivated land to the total population has a significance much beyond the mere inadequacy of food production. As the principal occupation of the Indian people is agriculture the small per capita average of cultivated land stands for the obvious underemployment of the people. The diminishing ratio of land to population shows further that available land for cultivation is not keeping pace with the increase in population. As even now 87% of the population is rural the significance of these figures in terms of the economic optimum of population is clear. Decade by decade we are having an increasing number of people than are necessary fully to utilise such resources of agricultural production as we have. While till 1931 at any rate it was a doubtful question whether the per capita production was steady, rising or falling, it has never been doubtful in recent years that for the full utilisation of the productive resources that we have and that we are likely to add we need a much smaller population than we actually have. To the question, therefore, whether

we are having an optimum number and an optimum trend of variation of our population, the answer, in the light of the history of our agricultural economy, is definitely in the negative. In this context the controversy over the question as to whether we are getting poorer or not is irrelevant. Granting that we are not getting poorer, though of course the actual facts during the last decade would definitely point towards a contrary conclusion, the question still remains as to whether we would not have been less poor if we had been fewer and increasing at a lower rate than we have been. Whether on an average we have been creating less or more per capita output of goods and services during the last fifty years, undoubtedly the situation is becoming increasingly unfavourable to the chances of an increasing standard of earnings on account of an increasing population. In relation to the optimum of population this is the only thing that matters, and hence we should have no hesitation in saying that at no time during this period was the number or the rate of increase in population otherwise than in excess of the optimum, *i.e.*, the number and the rate of increase that would ensure the highest possible per capita income. In other words we have throughout this period been overpopulated, and it would appear that we are becoming increasingly overpopulated.

Industrial Employment

In view of the likely influence of further industrialisation on the population situation it may be worthwhile to scan the figures for industrial employment in recent years. The decennial census normally held in India used to provide a question on the type of employment of each person enumerated. The 1941 census dropped this question. The intermittent and diversified nature of employment among a large number of our people coupled with the inevitable drawbacks in the machinery of enumeration had always been held to rob the so-called occupational distribution statistics of any real significance. Such as they were they indicated a definite fall in the percentage of population dependent on industrial employment. The following figures bring out the steadily falling percentage of industrial workers to the total population till 1931.

	1911	1921	1931
Population (Millions).	315	319	353
Working Population (Millions)	149	146	154
Industrial Workers (Millions)	17.5	15.7	15.3
Percentage of Industrial workers to working population	11.0	11.0	10.0
Percentage of Industrial workers to total population ..	5.5	4.9	4.3

Growth of Unemployment

Along with the steadily falling percentage of industrially employed to the total population, the extent of unemployment in the country has also been growing. There has been no census, nor even a sample inquiry on a systematic basis, undertaken to supply a reliable estimate of unemployment. Using the census figures for the several years Mr. Wattal has constructed the following table to give an idea as to the increase in unemployment till 1931.

Year of Census	Total able-bodied male population aged 10 to 60 years	Total not working able-bodied male population aged 10 to 60 years	Percentage of (3) to (2)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1901	103,121,700	7,308,464	7.1
1911	109,862,123	8,336,702	7.6
1921	112,120,767	11,510,924	10.3
1931	124,015,909	17,720,365	14.2

(Paper submitted to the All-India Population Conference, Bombay 1938.)

Improvement during 1931—41.

As already stated, the 1941 census did not provide any occupational census. Two features of the demographic situation revealed by that census, however, deserve special notice. The number of workers employed in registered factories has shown an increase, and the percentage of population living in urban areas, and especially in the bigger cities, has risen. The relevant figures are given in the table on page 22.

The percentage of increase in daily attendance at registered factories is striking, but the absolute numbers involved, *i.e.*, about nine lakhs, are so small as to be insignificant in establishing any trend as to the industrialisation of the population. There is another vital factor which also adversely affects the significance of this rise in factory population. It is the process of bringing under registration a larger number of perennial and seasonal establishments either by statutory action or by notification. Moreover, the years that marked the turn of the last census were years of intensified war-time activity, which as recent events have shown was for the most part temporary in its significance.

Increased Urbanisation during 1931—41.

The 1941 census showed an accentuated effect of the tendency towards a gradual rise in the proportion of urban to total population. This tendency was fed by the movement towards the cities caused by a number of economic and political factors that have marked the period of the war. With all these favourable influences, however, the actual rise in the percentage is meagre as can be seen from the following table :—

Rural and Urban Population

Total Population	1941 (Millions)	Percentage of total population	1931 (Millions)	Percentage of total population
Total Population ..	389.0	100	338.1	100
In Rural Areas ..	339.2	87.2	300.7	88.9
In towns of 1 lakh and over	16.5	4.2	9.6	2.7
In towns of 20,000 to 1 lakh	15.0	3.9	27.8	8.4
In towns of 5 to 20 th.	18.3	4.7		

Daily Average number of Workers employed in Industries

Factories	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Government and Local Fund Factories ..	132,446	169,163	220,086	299,729	355,878	420,435	475,013
All other Factories ..	1,616,115	1,675,265	1,936,291	1,981,834	2,080,434	2,099,816	2,185,964
Total ..	1,748,561	1,844,428	2,156,377	2,281,563	2,436,312	2,520,251	2,642,977

India is Overpopulated

The population of the smaller towns has increased by about 50 lakhs, that of the bigger ones by about 70 lakhs. Herein the special influence of war-time concentration of activity in the bigger centres is evident, and yet the rural percentage has been lowered by only 1.7 per cent. In fact the special circumstances attending the war only emphasise the predominantly agricultural character of the employment of the people and the absence of any strong current of steady and expanding industrial employment. The bearing of both agricultural and non-agricultural employment on the population situation must thus be taken to mean that the disproportion between actual and optimum population is increasing in the wrong direction. In other words from the twin standpoints of direct relationship between growth of population and of resources, as also from that of the population growth and what would be needed to produce the highest per capita income our situation is unsatisfactory. The general conclusion to which the Famine Inquiry Commission arrived would therefore seem to be amply justified. They observed: "In relation to the existing stage of development of her industrial and agricultural resources, India is, in our opinion, overpopulated. Pressure of population, which of course varies in intensity in different parts of the country, is shown and felt in various ways; by the general trend of food imports and exports, India having within a generation become an importing rather than an exporting country; by the decrease in the size of holdings, the fragmentation of holdings, and the increase in the number of landless labourers, all related to the fact that the total area under cultivation has not increased as rapidly as the population, so that the per capita area has decreased; by the continuing poverty of the mass of the people, and by the widespread existence of mal- and under-nutrition, in spite of growth in total industrial and agricultural resources and in the total wealth of the country."[9]

Optimum Density

The reference to differing degrees of the pressure of population in different parts of the country raises an im-

9. The Famine Inquiry Commission: Final Report (1945); p. 90

portant economic and regional issue. The concept of pressure is itself relative to an optimum. Optimum density is defined by Carr Saunders in the following terms: "In any country at any given time there is a certain amount of skill and knowledge available and there are habits and customs which govern the use made of this skill and knowledge. Taking all the conditions into consideration, then it is clear that there is a particular density of population which must be reached and must not be exceeded if the largest possible income per head is to be attained. As we have seen, there is for any piece of land, when a certain amount of skill is available, a point where, by the application of a definite amount of capital and labour, the maximum return per head is reached; if less is applied the return per head will be less, and if more is applied the return per head will again be less, though in this latter case the total produce will be greater. So in any country, however many complications may be introduced by the rise of industrialism and the exchange of manufactured articles for food grown abroad, there is a density of population which is more desirable than any other from the point of view of income per head. This may be called the 'optimum' density." [10]

Density in Different Parts of India

Considering that the average holding is very much smaller than the optimum and that agriculture carried on under such conditions is the principal occupation of the people, the conclusion that density of population in India is much higher than optimum may be taken as almost self-evident. According to the 1941 census figures the average density for all-India was 246. The following is the province-wise record of density for the same year:—

India		Pakistan		Divided	
Bihar	521	N.W.F.P.	213	Bengal	779
U.P.	518	Sind	94	Punjab	287
Madras	491	Baluchistan	9		
Bombay	272				
Orissa	271				
Assam	186				
C.P. Berar	170				

10. Carr Saunders: *Population*, p. 26.

Among the divided provinces East Bengal had a higher density than West Bengal, 688 and 618 respectively for 1931. In the case of Punjab, however, whereas the North-Western Punjab had a density of 125 in 1931, the sub-Himalayan Punjab had a density of 344 for the same year. Thus it would seem that the Western Pakistan area is as a region much more favourably situated in respect of density than the rest of the Indian continent. Moreover, as will be seen from a previous table, in both Sind and the Frontier Province about one-half of total cultivable land is still available for fresh cultivation. The all-India average of density split up between Indian and Pakistan areas will thus be seen to be specially favourable to the economic growth of Pakistan. Considering that India is a predominantly agricultural country conducting farming on the extensive rather than on the intensive model the figures for average density will be seen to be too high in comparison with some other countries where both agriculture and industry are organised on a scientific and capitalised basis.

Country	Density	Country	Density
Belgium	710	New Zealand	16
England & Wales ..	703	United States.. ..	43
Japan	482	France..	197
Germany	373	Italy	259

Growth of Population

In view of the overwhelming impression of an overpopulated and highly dense situation the trends of population movements revealed by the vital statistics have a special significance. In common with most other countries India has a recorded census only for the last 75 years or so. For any period before the first census taken in 1872 nothing more than guess work is possible. Beyond illustrating the obvious truth that in the earlier periods the country was less heavily and more thinly populated these guesses indicate nothing. For essential data such as birth and death rates no guesswork is possible. With all their limitations, mainly of imperfect recording, the census as well as the vital statistics main-

tained for the whole country since 1872 are an invaluable asset. There is no reason to believe that, apart from special factors such as boycotts or communal bias, the technical imperfections in the collecting and recording organisation have been on the increase. This fact is of great significance in instituting comparisons as between various succeeding years. That even now both the vital statistics and the census enumerations leave much to be desired is demonstrably proved by the lack of reconciliation between estimates of population worked out from vital statistics and the actual results of the census. But it will not be justifiable from this experience to assume any of the two sets of statistics to be correct, or even more correct, and work out a margin of error, which can itself claim to be less erroneous. In any case for comparative purposes we might make the best use of officially recorded figures.

Excluding Burma the total population of what till 1947 was British India and the states had moved as follows from 1872:—

Census Year	Population (Millions)	Increase % over previous census	Real Increase allowing for changes in area and enumeration
1872	203		
1881	250	23.2	1.5
1891	279	11.6	9.6
1901	284	1.8	1.4
1911	202	6.7	6.4
1921	206	10·9	1.2
1931	338	10.6	10.6
1941	389	15.1	15.1

The uneven rate of real increase before 1921 emphasises an important feature of the population in India. The general conditions of the economy and of the health of the people have not settled down to any steady trend. Widespread fail-

ures of rain and the occurrence of floods have often played havoc with the food supplies of the people. Epidemics have also reared their heads at uncertain intervals. It seems that for a period of over twenty-five years the internal machinery of distribution of foodgrains and of the control of epidemic diseases has been so well established as to obviate the evils of widespread and unrelieved famines and epidemics. Against the background of an almost age-long history and of the heavy pressure of population on total resources indicated earlier in this chapter one must, however, be cautious in accepting the situation as being altogether free from the possibility of the two major causes of disturbance in population trends, *viz.*, famine and epidemics. Even if the future possibility of these occurrences is ignored their presence in the earlier years robs the figures for those years of much of the importance that they otherwise would have in a statistical series. We can more usefully concentrate on comparatively recent figures as indicating short-term trends.

It is these extraordinary occurrences and the large size of the country that explain the apparent paradox of a large absolute but a by no means abnormal relative increase in population. Thus the numbers added to India's population between 1931 and 1941 exceed the total population of England and Wales. While such a total increase is indeed remarkable, the long-term rate that it reveals is by no means exceptional. From 1872 to 1931 Indian population increased by 30 per cent. whereas the population of England and Wales increased during the same period by as much as 77 per cent. The increase of population during the same period in the United States was even higher. But the choice of the total census period for such comparisons has no significance, inasmuch as the significant trends in recent years have been towards a decline in these western countries unlike in India where they indicate a continued rise. In view of the accompaniments of the current stage in our social and economic life a comparison for identical periods between India and these industrially advanced countries will not prove fruitful. An appropriate staggering of the years for these countries and India so as to bring these on comparable levels of the process of industrialisation would be necessary. But to do this usefully a detailed study of vital statistics, such as birth and death rates, age composition and sex ratio, is essential.

Birth and Death Rates

Period or Year	Birth rate per 1000	Death rate per 1000	Net Birth rate per 1000
1901–10	38	34	4
1911–20	37	34	3
1921–30	35	26	9
1931–40	34	23	11
1941	32	22	10
1942	29	24	5
1943	26	23	3

After having been relatively steady for nearly four decades these figures for birth rate, officially supplied by the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, indicate an appreciable fall in recent years. The period during which the fall is indicated is, however, too short to base any generalisation on the relevant figures. The birth rate figures for some succeeding years must be watched before any trend can be established. Till then a negative conclusion to the effect that the gross birth rate is not rising may be assumed. The same cannot, however, be said about the net birth rate, inasmuch as the death rate is definitely on the decline. Unless the birth rate is steadied at a low point indicated by recent figures the lowering death rate, which in effectiveness must be granted more significance on account of the improving machinery of enumeration, holds forth the prospect of a substantial further rise in population.

A comparison with corresponding periods and later years of the vital movements in England and Wales will be interesting.

Years	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Net Birth Rate
1870–2	35.5	22.3	13.2
1880–2	34.1	19.7	14.4
1890–2	30.8	19.7	11.1
1900–2	28.7	17.2	11.5
1910–2	24.5	13.8	10.7
1920–2	22.8	12.4	10.4
1930–2	15.8	11.9	3.9
1942	15.3	11.6	3.7

Two points are suggested by a comparison of this table for England and Wales and the last one for India. The first is that in the case of England and Wales a time-lag of about twenty years intervened between the downward movement of the death rate and a similar movement in birth rate. In the light of this fact it may not be unreasonable to interpret the recent recorded fall in Indian birth rates as the commencement of a new trend. But proportionately to the total size and population of the country it would be stretching similarities too far to assume that the transformation of Indian economy and social life during the last twenty-five years has been comparable to similar movements in U.K. during the closing decades of the last century. We have, therefore, to be cautious as to the probable future of Indian birth rates, though, apart from calamitous events like famine and epidemics a lowering death rate may be normally assumed. This would by itself indicate an immediate period ahead of even larger increases of population than have been known in the last two decades. The English figures have a light to throw on this stage of the demographic situation as well. As will be seen from the last table the real fall in net birth rate was experienced almost half a century after the fall in gross birth-rate commenced. Even confining ourselves to steady influences therefore, it would be normal to expect an increasing population for some decades to come. Howsoever enlightened and rational our outlook and policy on birth rate may be, the naturally favourable reaction on death rate will create a situation which superficial observers might interpret as a ground for frustration. There is no justification for such a feeling as in the nature of things we must pass through this phase.

Net Reproduction Rate

Assuming that the population with which we may have to deal in the near future would in any case be a fairly expanding one, population students and planners would be interested to know the probable size of this increase. Apart from the somewhat crude and undependable guidance given by probable net birth rates a more refined tool of future estimates has now become available at least for countries which have a full data of fertility and mortality by age and sex groups. A recent population study undertaken by the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations describes this method

thus. "There are various methods whereby the statisticians of different countries have calculated the probable development of population in the future. Net reproduction rates are now generally considered to be the only reliable measure of the trend of the natural movement of population. These rates are calculated on the basis of fertility and mortality, with the elimination of certain factors, such as those resulting from the difference in the structure by age of the populations that are being compared. All that these rates claim to show is the results that would be reached if the present fertility and mortality of the population remained constant. The method adopted for this purpose by R. R. Kuczynski is to calculate the probable number of female children per 1000 women during their child-bearing period (from 15 to 49 years) and to correct the result by means of mortality tables. A net rate of 1000 for 1000 (=1) is just sufficient to maintain the population in the long run at its present level. Any difference either way indicates a tendency towards an increase or decrease in population as the case may be." [11]

For using this method specific fertility data bearing on the age of mothers at the time of the births of children is necessary. Such data are not available for India. An attempt made to work out a net reproduction rate for India using the specific fertility data for Japan has produced interesting results. "The total number of girls born to 1000 women in India passing through child-bearing age would be 4,542, but since according to the life-table out of 1000 live-born females only 524 females are found to be living at the age of say 20 and thereon, total fertility is reduced by mortality from 4,542 to 1,762. A thousand mothers would be replaced by 1,762 new-born girls. Of these 308 would be widows and unmarried females. Thus one thousand mothers would give birth to 1,454 future mothers and the net reproduction rate for India will be 1.454, as compared with Japan's 1.495." [12]

Another attempt to work out a net reproduction rate at least for a part of Indian population was made at the time of 1931 census in Travancore. The result is thus summarised by the Census Report.[13] "From the result of the inquiry regarding

11. International Labour Review, March 1939.
12. N. P. C. Population Sub-Committee's Report.
13. Census Report, Travancore, 1931 p. 153.

fertility and mortality we see that, out of 119, 813 children born to 18,456 women who have passed the child-bearing period, 56,223 are girls. The total fertility of 1000 women is 5,350 children. The number of girls among these will therefore be $\frac{56,223}{119,813}$ x 5,350 or 2,511. That is to say that, 1000 girls born now, if all of them pass through the child-bearing period and survive till the close of that period at the present rate of mortality, will give birth to 2,511 future mothers. This is the *gross reproduction rate.* The net fertility of 1,000 girls, after allowing for their mortality, is 3,867 children. The number of girls among these children will be $\frac{56,223}{119,813}$ x 3867 or 1815. In other words, out of 1,000 girls born now, those who reach the child-bearing period and survive till the close of that period at the present rate of mortality, will give birth to 1,815 future mothers. This is the *net reproduction rate.*"

Travancore is in many respects a special region and it would not be proper to generalise from this rate and make it applicable to the whole country. The rate worked out on the basis of Japanese fertility data, *viz.*, 1.495 and the Travancore Census rate, *viz.*, 1,815 compare with better calculated rates for other countries as follows :—

Country	Year	Net Reproduction Rate
Russia	1928	1.70
Japan	1925	1.49
Italy	1921	1.40
England & Wales	1921	1.08
France..	1933	0.82
Germany	1933	0.70

Expectation of Life at Birth

Whether we take the recent movements of the gross birth and death rates or the calculations regarding the net reproduction rates it will be seen that there is nothing inherently wrong or abnormal about Indian fertility or growth of population. Correlated to our present economic and social environment and especially to the stage at which the process of our

industrialisation now stands, the vital statistics are just what they normally have been in all modern countries. There is no inexorability about the net reproduction rate. It assumes the current rates of fertility as well as mortality. Both, it is obvious, are normally in the process of change. It is the direction and size of these changes in the light of the optimum of population and density that are the object of population policy. How much leeway we have to make to build up a healthy state of population will be seen from the following figures regarding the present expectation of life in several countries.

Nation	Period	Expectation of life at birth
New Zealand	1931	65.4 years
Netherlands	1931–35	65.1 ,,
United States (White)	1940	63.8 ,,
Norway	1921–1930	61.0 ,,
Germany	1932–34	60.0 ,,
Austria	1930–33	54.5 ,,
Bulgaria	1925–28	46.0 ,,
Japan	1926–30	49.0 ,,
U.S.S.R. (Europe)	1926–27	42.0 ,,
U.S.S.R. (Siberia)	1926–27	39.2 ,,
India	1921–30	27.0 ,,

The low figure of expectation of life at birth is the red signal of the population situation. Unless a more appropriate relationship with optimum population trends is established the situation would continue to be grave. This warning for the country as a whole is particularised by the following classification of the several population regions in respect of the rate of increase in their population. Taking the whole period from 1881 to 1931 Mr. Sovani[14] has classified these regions on the basis of very rapid (60% or more), fast (20 to 45%), very slow (10 to 16%) and stagnant (below 10%) growth of population. All the Pakistan territories, Sind, North-west Punjab and East Bengal belong to the first class. The only regions in India proper to belong to this class are Cochin, Travancore, Chhota Nagpur Plateau and Brahmaputra Valley. Bombay Deccan, Surma Valley, East and South

14. N. V. Sovani: *The Population Problem in India: A Regional Approach*. pp. 160 *et seq.*

Coast, Madras, belong to the second or fast growing regions; Gujarat, Sub-Himalayan Punjab, North Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa belong to the third or very slowly increasing regions. Konkan, Central India Plateau, the Indo-Gangetic Plains, and South Bihar are classified as stagnant. This classification is revealing. Not only does it emphasise the need for a full sociological and economic survey of each tract, but it underlines the inadequacy of any discussion, and much more so of any solution, of the problem of Indian population as a whole. Such discussion can only suggest the lines of further inquiry and the main features of an appropriate national policy in the sphere of population.

CHAPTER III

Jobs For All

Need for Economic Development

Indian population in numbers as well as in respect of the prospective rate of increase is in excess of the optimum. The optimum assumes two things. Firstly the resources and skills with the help of which the population has to earn a living are assumed to have a particular existing and prospective magnitude; and secondly the existing fertility and mortality rates are also considered to be steady. If we have been made aware of the population problem in all its bearings it would be necessary to operate on both these aspects of the problem. Of these two, the former, namely, increase in productive capacity and in avenues of employment is by far the more important. It is so for two reasons. Whatever we may do to change the population habits of the people, for a very long time to come the established trends and numbers are bound to give rise to a large and an increasing population. Moreover, the basic urge to a rationalisation of population habits is not to be found in despair or fright, but in a higher standard of life. Both as an immediate solution to a short-term problem and as the best preparation of ground for the mastering of a long-term evil, concentration on a positive programme of economic development is indicated. The Famine Inquiry Commission (1945) observe with justice: "while we hold that there is a serious population situation, we emphasise throughout that the *primary* problem is that of underdevelopment of resources, both agricultural and industrial, in a wide sense of the term."[15]

Full Employment versus Maximum National Income

The same Commission calculated roughly that in another twenty-five years an addition of about ten crores would be made to the population of India as a whole. It is a different question as to what trends of population movement would be established by then. But for the planner or the reformer of

15. The Famine Inquiry Commission: Final Report, p. 73.

the present day these figures must be the data for chalking out a programme of action. While the details of the economic and the administrative policies involved in this crucial task lie outside the scope of a mere population study, the basic principles of economic betterment, it must be urged, ought to conform to the real needs of the situation. Thus at the very outset there is the choice between full employment and maximisation of production as objectives of economic policy. If we approach the problem only from the organisational and the technological standpoints it is possible to suggest a line of action which would with the assistance of even a lesser number of people than are now employed produce a quantity of goods which would meet the pressing wants of the people as a whole. But such a course of action by throwing out of employment a large portion of the existing human and other resources would in the end accentuate rather than ease the population situation. While aiming at maximisation of productivity, therefore, it would be a good and wholesome corrective to aim at full employment at the same time. It is through the individual's own experience of a better standard of production and of life that his outlook on population is going to be influenced.

Agricultural Reorganisation

In the sphere of reorganisation of agriculture, the principal industry of the people, this approach has an initial significance. With the utmost development of industry consistent with our resources, only a small fraction of the people will be employed in non-agricultural pursuits, at least for a long time to come. Both as a means of offering employment to the people as also as a means of influencing their outlook on life, agricultural reform has more to offer by way of assured results than too one-sided a concentration on industry. The latter must also be reorganised and developed as an aid to progressive agriculture and as a source of supply of essential non-agricultural products. But the bias of Indian planning aimed at raising the standard of life of the mass of the people must necessarily be agricultural. Planned agriculture need not necessarily mean extensive or subsistence farming, nor need it of necessity imply collective or state farming. There is a tendency to equate scientific farming with large-scale cultivation through tractors, chemical fertilisers and big irrigation schemes. All these have their proper place in the

economy but it would be fatal if we ignored that these would by themselves leave our main problem of finding productive jobs for an expanding population unattended to. Even agricultural planning must, therefore, start from the agriculturist, his resources and his environment as they are, and must aim at making the best of these. While extreme fragmentation and subdivision of holdings must be recognised to be both an economic and a social evil, the extent to which these features of our rural economy can be altered during the next crucial period of a generation is very limited. If fragmentation is forthwith stopped and a gradual consolidation is promoted, that is as far as we can hope to go for a large part of our rural area. Where new lands are being brought under cultivation or where the organisation of agriculture is already favourable to large units it would be a different matter. So also the natural and healthy process of voluntary co-operation among landlords and tenants can and ought to be promoted by public policy.

Protection and Agriculture

The real centre of agricultural planning during the next generation would, therefore, be how to find for the small farmer fuller and more profitable employment. The most direct method of doing this which has latterly acquired a considerable popularity is to ensure profitable prices to the agriculturist. If this meant only that the agriculturist should not be exposed to the vicissitudes of the trade depression, the policy would carry its justification on the face. It that respect, however, it would share the benefits of this policy with all other occupations similarly threatened. But if an agricultural price policy would to any large extent spell agricultural protectionism, it would not work ; in fact it would make for economic regression rather than for economic progress. Protectionism is designed to grant direct or indirect subsidy to one section of the community at the cost of another. If the beneficiary section is small and the victimised section is large and prosperous the scheme would work, and may in due course justify itself by enhancing the productivity of the protected industry. But where the protected class is practically three-quarters of the nation and of the remainder only a small fraction is capable of bearing an extra burden, protection, apart from being unworkable, will recoil on the protected class

itself in the form of production surpluses or high prices of non-agricultural goods, or both. Thus while for all producers, agricultural and others, a policy of preservation and adjustment in bad times is feasible and necessary, and while for particular agricultural commodities a protective price policy is feasible, for agriculture as a whole in India effective assistance must come through positive channels, and not through the mechanism of exchange or market prices.

Assured Water Supply

Apart from the size of the farm and the tenure of its holding, the most effective way of granting assistance to the agricultural community is by providing assured and if possible perennial water supply. Conditions in different parts of the country differ so vastly that no one method of enhancing the water resources of the community can be chosen to the exclusion of others. From multi-purpose schemes of gigantic dams to the construction of wells and small bunds all available methods must be followed. But it is not the total or overall development, but the development of all severally, that we must keep before ourselves. If there were enough capital and technological resources in the country this difference would not be so important. But as our resources in both these respects are limited, it is of the utmost importance to urge that no opportunity of augmenting local resources of water should be neglected on account of the attractions of more imposing schemes. It would be only fair to expect that in the construction and maintenance of minor schemes which are not expected to be economic in the normal sense of the term, the people in whose interest they are undertaken would assist in suitable manner. Conservation of moisture by dry-farming methods and the development of drought-resisting and fast maturing crops would be especially suitable to areas where neither major nor minor irrigation works are practicable. Though much spade work has already been done along lines of developing new strains suitable to Indian conditions, very much more remains to be done. Experience in similarly situated countries is bound to be helpful in this respect but ultimately it must be the efforts of our own agricultural scientists on which we must rely for providing fuller and more productive employment to our agriculturists. Prevention and cure of pests is another service which requires to be organised

at least on the same level of efficiency as the public health and medical organisations of the country.

Tractors and Fertilisers

Tractors and fertilisers are two other items of agricultural reform in respect of which our capacity for high thinking often serves as an excuse for our very modest performance. Where new land is to be brought under cultivation or where the unit of cultivation is or can be made a fairly big one, tractors have a legitimate use. To this extent we might welcome them, but as long as the present and the prospective size of the farm is limited, as it must be if fuller employment is to be found for our expanding population with our resources, simpler adaptations of the traditional implements of the farmer would better serve the cause of good farming. How much scope there is for any widespread improvement in the familiar implements of the Indian cultivator, it is for the experts to say. The Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture seemed to be sceptic about the prospects of much further improvement along these lines, as they held that the implements and farm-tools used by the Indian farmer were the outcome of experience and skill extending over centuries. About the technical effects of chemical fertilisers, short-term as well as long-term, a layman cannot claim to have any opinion. But this much can be confidently stated; that the first priority in the fertiliser programme of agricultural planning must be given to promoting the maximum possible use of the natural and organic manures locally available to the cultivator.

Animal Husbandry

Allied to farming is the field of animal husbandry. The figures of cattle census would show that alongside of a problem of human population we have even a more pressing problem of cattle population. Even as compared to countries like China and Japan, which do not use power-driven tractors to any appreciable extent, and yet produce a yield higher than our own, our cattle population proportionately to our cultivated area is much too large. Per 100 acres sown India has 67 cattle as against 15 in China and 6 in Japan. The problem of surplus cattle is rendered doubly trying by the fact that on the one hand cattle compete with man for the sustenance that the earth has to offer, and to the extent to

which they do not contribute to the food resources of the country they render the food problem even more acute than it would have been if the number of cattle was smaller. Assuming the dietic habits of the people to be what they are, the case for planning the number and variety of cattle according to the supply of feeding resources and the varying demands for their use would be very strong indeed. Alongside of such reforms as purer and special-purpose breeding, some control over number and variety would also seem to be necessary. The direct agricultural and the indirect commercial use of animals is even more in evidence in connection with sheep-breeding and poultry farming. Mixed farming, that is combining tillage with animal husbandry or a similar activity, has been rightly recognised as a means to make the small and medium-size farmer more solvent than he is only as a cultivator. An integration of all policies in this field should lead to the much desired objective of providing the average Indian farmer fuller and profitable employment.

Fisheries

With its extensive coast-line and numerous rivers India offers a special field for development of fisheries and allied industries. Latterly considerable interest has been evinced in the prospects of Indian fisheries. Considering the natural advantages and the need it is surprising that this industry had not yet felt the influence of capitalistic organisation. As deep-sea resources have to be tapped, a corporate and mechanized and improved technique would seem to be necessary. If timely steps are taken by the Government to direct the future progress of fisheries along co-operative and departmental channels, the evils of capitalistic exploitation in this essential trade would be forestalled, and expanding employment would be offered to the people who traditionally depend on this source for their food and income.

Government Aid to Industries

If all attempts are concentrated on providing to the agriculturist the maximum possible opportunities of fuller and more productive employment in his own environment, the efforts at planned industrialisation would more assuredly achieve their legitimate purposes. These purposes are many and not all of them are directly economic or designed to in-

fluence the population situation. Thus the group of industries that are designed for national defence have a structure, a technique and location that have a justification of their own. But a large class of industries will have their natural origin either in the availability of local material or local markets. Many of these have already been established, but their expansion suffers from the competition of superior producing units elsewhere and the lack of adequate capital and skills. The old methods of protection by tariff is by itself unsuitable to the new age of political and social equality. While protective policies in the national interest would still have their use and justification for the greater productivity and extent of employment, it is desirable directly to assist industries in the shape of capital and skills. Developing national resources in these two respects and importing them from better situated countries wherever necessary and possible, is a type of responsibility that the old protectionist policy did not contemplate. The new awareness of a collective responsibility in this matter would justify both greater assistance and greater control. Experience in U.S.A., England, Russia and elsewhere would conclusively prove that there is less magic in the dogma of nationalisation than ever was contained in the nineteenth century slogan of free enterprise. As it is the purpose of a democratic government to help the citizen to be free, it is the proper function of an enlightened economic state to help the individual citizen to be self-supporting and well-to-do. We have at any rate an inherited social system in which both indivudual initiative and social regulation have been equally emphasised, and there is no reason to discard either one for the other. Given the objective of making people self-reliant and offering to them the means of full and productive employment, such action as is designed to promote both individual and collective action in the pursuit of these objectives would appear to be justifiable. If the increased standard of productivity and of life is to produce a purposeful outlook on life, the sense of individual responsibility must not be suppressed.

Planning and Artisans

In any discussion about economic planning as a part of social amelioration, the position of the craftsman and the artisan must not be ignored. There is no virtue, at any rate no economic and social virtue, in going on with out-of-date, un-

profitable and unorganised modes of business activity. Indeed in any healthy society the normal urge must be towards a constant improvement of techniques and organisation. But the single individual artisan is such a frail entity before powerful national and international events affecting his trade that it must be increasingly recognised as a social responsibility to put him in the way of better and more productive business, and pending his adjustment to the new situation he must be taken care of. Development must be acknowledged to be the law of free and successful living, but in well organised societies relief and rehabilitation during the period of transition must be accepted as predominantly social responsibilities. In view of the probable changes in our economic life this truth requires to be emphasised, especially as the neglect to honour it in the past has been the principal cause of our economic disintegration. Now that we are responsible for our own policy let us realise in time the responsibility of providing for the problems of transition. As the capital and at least the initial technical skills will be more and more supplied through state channels, the prospect of reorganising individual artisans on a co-operative basis becomes easier of attainment. In the large and expanding sector of services, *e.g.*, transport, banking, insurance, etc., the same discrimination between the essential end and alternative means can be followed, and such organisation whether private, public or co-operative, as is likely to maximise social advantage can be encouraged.

Complexity of Planner's Task

How very comprehensive and complicated is the task of an economic planner confronted with a population problem is best brought out in the following extract from the special inquiry report of the League of Nations already referred to :—

"A Government which desires to develop or stabilise employment, or to begin, promote or accelerate, the development of its economic resources, must not only prepare an inventory of these material resources but must also have an exact idea of the volume and composition of the labour power at its disposal and the future developments of the labour supply. It must make allowance for the number of additional workers who will enter the employment market every year, and also for the possible increase in the size of the higher age-groups because of increased longevity. It must also take account of

the differences in reproduction rates in various geographical areas, social classes and occupations; for only in the light of all these data can it draw up a practicable economic programme, frame a sound employment policy in the light of that programme, making provision for the training of the necessary groups of workers and the readjustments and transfers required to ensure the best possible balance in the employment market at any given time, and, if necessary, lay down a policy of emigration and immigration."[16] Whatever effort at planning has been undertaken in India till now, either officially or unofficially, has been in the nature of an enumeration of objectives, enunciation of ideological and organisational principles, indication of priorities of investment and the budgeting for capital resources. In fact our planners no less than the general body of citizens have yet to be made population conscious in the correct sense of the term as outlined above.

16. *Ibid*, p. 16.

CHAPTER IV

Population Policy

Economic Progress and Population Growth

Population is essentially a sociological phenomenon, and not economic in the strict sense of the term. The institutions, modes of life and individual and social values that each society seeks to preserve and develop have a decisive influence both on the numbers and composition of the people. This, however, is not to suggest that economic facts and considerations have no influence on population. Among the factors influencing social norms and institutions economic behaviour and prospects are sufficiently important to merit special study. As is well known the whole pattern of modern societies is largely governed by the organisation of their economic life. It would be as wrong to seek and establish either a positive or negative correlation between the movements of population and wealth, as to classify societies and cultures as responsive or otherwise to these influences. The fact is that the conditions of economic life produce their effects on the population situation through their prior effect on social norms and individual behaviour. For the type of society which Malthus visualised at the then prevailing level of economic progress it was perhaps correct to establish a direct and positive correlation between wealth and numbers, perhaps also between food and numbers. The incidents of the Industrial Revolution have, however, so materially altered the social and cultural pattern that at least in the first two stages the succession of a high fertility by a low fertility period has been universally witnessed. Thus F. W. Notestein in a report on the Population of Europe and the Soviet Union prepared by the Population Research Section of the Princeton University observes:

"Few social trends in the modern period have been as universal and persistent as the decline of mortality and fertility. Coming as a result of agricultural, industrial and technical evolution, the decline was established first in mortality, and only after a considerable interval in fertility.

The result of this lagging transition from high to low vital rates has been a wave of population growth, moving across Europe with the current of modernisation."[17]

Particularising the time-lag between fall in mortality and the later fall in fertility the same authors observe :

"In the nineteenth century death rates began to fall in Western countries and after 1900 followed a precipitous decline in all of Europe. Because of their head start, Western countries naturally continued to lead the trend. Scandinavia achieved a death rate of under twenty per thousand in the 1860's ; England about 1880 ; the Netherlands, about 1890 ; Italy and Austria, about 1910 ; most of Eastern Europe and the Balkans, in the 1920's ; and, finally, Roumania and probably the Soviet Union, in 1930's.—In contrast to death rates, birth rates revealed no clear trend before the latter half of the nineteenth century, France was the only exception. In that country birth rates have followed a steady downward course ever since 1820. In the rest of Europe the decline did not commence until after 1870. Once started, the birth rate fell more precipitously than the death rate ever had. It dropped below 30 per thousand in France about 1830 ; in Sweden, about 1880 ; in the rest of Scandinavia and England in the 1890's ; in Germany, the Netherlands Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic countries, between 1900 and 1910 ; in Hungary, Italy and Spain, in the 1920's ; in Poland and the Balkans, in the 1930's. Of European countries, only the U.S.S.R. and possibly Albania still had birth rates above 30 per thousand in 1939."[18]

This longish extract has been reproduced to emphasise one important difference between the old and the new approach to the subject. Wealth, at least in its influence on population trends, seems to be like those things which taken in "small draughts intoxicate the brain, but drinking deep sobers us again." The stimulus of a higher standard of life for the individual has been seen to produce more assured effect on lower fertility than the terrors of poverty emphasised by the earlier writers. It is not suggested that the influence of modern industrialisation on lowering fertility is just mechani-

17. *The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union :* By Frank W. Notestein & Others. League of Nations, 1944, p. 16.

18. F. W. Notestein & Others : *Ibid*, 49.

cal or biological. The incidents of the Industrial Revolution operate through social and psychological pressures. As the same writers explain :[19] "The emergence of the small family pattern is in major part due to the voluntary control of fertility, principally through contraception. The driving force stimulating such control lies in the social-economic incentives. Modern urban society places a high value on the individual as opposed to the family or other groups, sets great store by the advancement of the individual in health, education, social and economic status, and makes child-bearing an expensive undertaking. The simple fact is that it places heavy economic and social penalties on the parents of large families. There are strong inducements to parents to have only a few children to whom they can give every advantage."

Those who feel pessimistic or hesitant about economic progress on the score of continued increase in population will do well to ponder over this extensive, almost universal, experience of the West.[20] Propaganda in favour of birth control and of particular methods of practising it has its own merits on which doctors alone can pronounce an opinion. But it is an incontrovertible fact of historical experience that such propaganda has succeeded only with reference to sections of population which were well-to-do and enlightened. While knowledge of the means of contraception has been freely available in all western countries during the last century the lowering of fertility in the several countries has synchronised only with advanced stages of industrialisation. Even now in respect of age at marriage, time interval between marriage and birth of first child and the size of the family, the lower income groups in countries with low average fertility show lesser response to contraceptive propaganda than the better-to-do. While it will be noticed from the extracts given above that there is no hard and fast time schedule between the working out of the Industrial Revolution and the commencement of the period of lowering fertility the advanced stages of the former have definitely a favourable influence on institutions and practices making for a slower rise of population and eventually for a stable population. For those concerned over population as also for those concerned over poverty

19. F. W. Notestein & Others: *Ibid*, 30.

20. D. G. Karve: *Historical & Economic Studies*, pp. 120—125.

the immediate task is the same : namely, an industrial and scientific transformation of the whole economy.

Progress and Population Growth in Japan

For a proper perspective on the population question we need not depend only on western experience. Japan, which among eastern countries was the first to modernise its economy has experienced the same effect on its population trends. Commenting on the marked fall in net birth rates and reproduction rates in Japan since 1920, Irene B. Taeuber and Frank W. Notestein say in an article in the first issue of *Population Studies* : "Decline in fertility would seem to be an inevitable consequence of the pressures and the stimuli of an industrialising and urbanising economy, whether the underlying culture be Western or Eastern. In Japan traditional values, oligarchic government, state education, state religion, militarism, and a carefully fostered feudalism in agriculture all operated to maintain peasant psychology intact and to avoid the disturbing social and psychological changes of the new economy while achieving its material advantages. Yet the broad outlines of the historical decline in fertility in Japan which have been summarised here might have been written of any country in the west. There are differences—but there are also differences in the demographic history of England and France, of Germany and Poland, of Roumania and Bulgaria."[21] Unless, therefore, we turn our back on science and industry we can confidently expect our people to react to the new stimuli in the same manner as people of both the eastern and western countries in similar circumstances have done. Our traditional ideas, our social institutions, the peculiarities of our industrialisation—all these will doubtless influence the pace and the extent of the new development. But it is certain that the prospect of a better standard of life, the feeling of self-reliance, and the recognition of the need to adjust oneself to new environment will work in the desired direction.

Social Consciousness and Birth Rates

It is not suggested that the favourable influence will be produced by a deterministic process. Making people con-

21. *Population Studies*, June 1947. p. 28.

scious of the influence of population on the prospects of their own economic betterment is undoubtedly a necessary part of social education. In proportion as the good results of economic progress are experienced by the people they will be more responsive to such education. Human modes of life are highly susceptible to social suggestions backed by economic advantage. The latest example of this conscious human adaptation comes from England, which is at the far end of the movement of low fertility. Just before the Second World War it was feared by population experts that by 1949 a stage of stagnant population will be reached in that country and that a decline of population would set in soon after. Actually during the last few years the birth rate in England and Wales has steadily gone up, as will be seen from the following record :

Year	Birth Rate per 1000
1942	15.6
1943	16.2
1944	17.5
1945	18.1
1946	19.1

Future Changes in Indian Population

There is no inexorable law of population either making for a constant rise or a constant decline. Appreciation of the implications of a given population situation does produce a balancing and compensatory effect. But for such appreciation to be real and effective the individual's own environment has to suggest the feeling. Nothing is more calculated to bring this about than the economic system itself. A past experience about Indian population has been its extremely uneven movement, due to factors like famines and epidemics which have already been noted. Sufficient progress has already been made in regard to a planned control of both these to warrant a hope that in future steady changes instead of violent fluctuations will mark the movements of Indian population. Both in regard to these and other social services, as also for schemes of economic progress, orderly conditions

in the economic and administrative spheres are essential. In such favourable conditions not only can schemes of agricultural and industrial progress be undertaken, but other essential social services such as nutrition, contraceptive and maternity advice can be made increasingly available. Recent figures for birth rates in India would suggest that the changes in social pattern consequent on growing industrialisation and urbanisation have already commenced. The social system is obviously undergoing a change. A new recognition of women's position of equality, the pressure towards raising the age of marriage, and the increasing difficulties of bringing up children in the atmosphere of big cities are all unmistakable signs. How very different in respect of the married state the position of Indian women is from that of western countries is illustrated by the following table giving comparative figures of unmarried females of child-bearing age in U.S.A. and India.

Age	Per cent. females single	
	United States (1930)	India (1931)
15–19	86.8	14.9
20–24	46.0	6.2
25–29	21.7	2.4
30–34	13.2	1.9
35–39	10.0	1.4
40.49	9.3	1.2
50 and over	8.7	1.0

Apart from the social aspects of unmarried condition or of late marriages the recent tendencies due to economic causes and to an awakening among women are definitely making for influences which will lead to lowering fertility, *i.e.*, to a lowering birth rate, and to the small family pattern of society. How great is the scope for a healthy spacing of children and the consequent lowering of the size of the family even without violent changes in our social system will be seen from the following sample [22] of the size of family in one particular area in India.

22. Census of India (Baroda) 1931, Vol. XIX, p. 171.

Size of Family by Number of Children Born

No. of children born	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 & over
% age of total families ..	2.2	4.4	6.4	9.3	11.2	13.8	13.9	13.0	10.2	7.0	8.6

As many as two-thirds of these families had five or more children, and one-third had seven children or more. There is no reason to assume that this percentage is representative of conditions in all parts of India, but it should at least help to remove any lurking fears about a discriminating use of contraceptives or about a practice of spacing and limitation of births otherwise brought about leading to a declining or even stationary population at least for a very long time to come.

Need for Greater Data

In the light of population movements in modern times it will be clearly seen that overpopulation and underproduction are really two sides of the same problem, and while it has to be solved by a suitable action in both spheres, for such action to be effective, production of resources through better organised methods has to be vigorously undertaken. For such a productive drive planned and vigorous steps are necessary. Our present census is too infrequent and too inadequately organised to supply the necessary data for production planning in relation to population. Census of production must be organised alongside of a census of population, preferably through the same statistical agency, and the work of this agency, in the centre as also in the units, must be continuous. In the absence of comprehensive and continuous sources of statistical information regarding all aspects of the economic and social life of the people, not only is no planning possible, but no other intelligent and consistent economic policy also can be undertaken. In 1941 a Population Data Committee was organised in the central secretariat to use the

slender information gathered at the census of that year to throw light on as many aspects of the population situation as possible. But little has yet been done by that committee to supply much-needed information to students of the subject and to the general public. It is urgently necessary that this work should no longer be neglected, and in fact its scope should be extended by a reorganisation of central and provincial census services as a permanent bureau.

A Challenge and an Opportunity

Considering the subject of Indian population in the context of the other countries of the world it is easy to feel that emigration has a significant role to play in easing the situation. Till now Indian emigration has been almost wholly confined to Asiatic countries. Out of 41 lakhs of Indians abroad three-fourths are in Burma, Ceylon, Malaya and Mauritius. These countries have their own population problems no less pressing than that of India. Africa has indeed much scope for further colonisation by Indians and other Asians. But considering the policy of exclusion followed by the present administrations in these parts no worthwhile relief to the Indian situation can be expected from that quarter. It is essentially by making the best of our natural and acquired resources under a well-thought-out plan of social and economic regeneration that the ideal of a higher standard of life for our people must be realised. If we but make up our mind to benefit by experience elsewhere and move in time to develop our resources we may not only save ourselves from poverty and degradation, but we might also actually set an example to our Asian compatriots. Thus understood, our population situation has both a challenge and an opportunity to present to us.

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE PARTITION

by

C. N. VAKIL

The object of this book is to present in a brief form the major tendencies likely to arise in the economic sphere as a consequence of the partition of the country. This book will enable the average citizen to have all the essential facts on the subject in an easily understandable form, so that he can form his own judgment on any economic problem arising out of the partition. It will thus help in removing the prevailing confusion and misunderstanding on this problem in the public mind. The book will be of invaluable help in grasping a current problem of vital importance both to the student of economics as well as the average citizen. The author has presented his material in non-technical language as far as possible, making it easy for the layman to take interest in a problem which should be the concern of all. The main conclusion of the book is that the two Dominions are economically interdependent, requiring an agreed economic policy and a common Customs Union in mutual interest.

SOME OPINIONS

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HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III OF BARODA

1. RULERS OF BARODA

I am sure you have heard of the State of Baroda. It is one of the best states in India. The capital of the State is the city of Baroda. There are about one lakh and thirteen thousand people living there. It is a beautiful city. If you go there you will find a beautiful park and many fine palaces. It has many public buildings and offices. It has a large number of temples which are worth seeing.

The State of Baroda grew up after the fall of the Mogul Empire. Its first ruler was Pilaji Gaekwar. It was his son Damaji who became master of the city of Baroda. When

he died the State was ruled by his four sons, one after another. Then Anand Rao, one of their relations, became the ruler of Baroda. After two more rulers came Khande Rao. He made many good changes in the State. After his death came his brother Malhar Rao. But he did not govern the State well, so he lost his throne. His place was taken by Sayaji Rao III, who belonged to one of the ruling families of the Gaekwars. He was the ruler of Baroda till 1938. He was a boy of thirteen when he became the ruler. It was because of his good rule that the State became so great. It is interesting to know about the life of this great man.

2. SAYAJI RAO III

His Highness the Maharaja Sayaji Rao was born on 17 March 1863 in Kavlana, a small village. It is about eighteen miles from Manmad, a big town in the Bombay Province where several railway lines meet. His father was Srivant Kashi Rao Gaekwar. He belonged to the family of Damaji Rao Gaekwar, one of the great builders of the State. He lived mostly by farming. He had three sons, of whom Gopal Rao (afterwards known as Maharaja Sayaji Rao) was the second.

One day a strange thing happened. A party of policemen arrived at Kavlana. They came to learn something about the Gaekwar family living there. They met

Srivant Kashi Rao and had a long talk with him. They felt pleased to know that he really belonged to the Gaekwar family. Then they took him and his three sons to Nasik. There the father was told that Maharaja Malhar Rao was no longer on the throne and an heir to the throne was wanted. Since Srivant Kashi Rao belonged to the Gaekwar family, it was thought that one of his sons should become Maharaja.

The three brothers went to Baroda where they were taken to the palace. Soon it was found that the eldest boy, being seventeen years of age, was too old for it and it would be difficult to train him. A younger boy could be more easily taught the duties of a Maharaja. It

was therefore thought that one of the two younger boys should be taken. Since Gopal Rao was more intelligent than his brother he was made the heir.

There are stories which show that it soon became clear that he was cleverer than any of his brothers. As soon as the three boys reached the palace, they were asked why they had come. While the other two could say nothing in answer to this question, Gopal Rao replied: 'To be Maharaja.' Again, while the other brothers did not know what to do in a big palace while they were having their meals, Gopal Rao watched the Maharani and did what he saw her doing. Then Maharani Jamnabai told him that he was to live with her as her

own son. He then began to be known as Sayaji Rao III. He was only twelve at that time.

3. EARLY DAYS AT THE PALACE

The little Sayaji Rao had to begin studying. He was to be taught how to be the ruler of a big State. He had not been to school in his village. He had therefore to start his studies from the very beginning. Two Indian teachers were called in to teach him. They worked with him for five hours every day. Besides other subjects they taught him to read and write Gujarati which is the language of most of the people of the State of Baroda. He also learnt Urdu.

It was soon found that this kind of teaching would not do for him.

Therefore a school was set up to which the sons of the chiefs of the State went. The headmaster of the school was an Englishman. There the little prince learnt English and something about the people of India who had lived many years before. He also learnt about other countries, other people and the animals and the trees in the world. He was taught to look after his own money and the money belonging to the State. It was found that he learnt more quickly than any of his other class-mates. He always worked hard, while some of the other boys did not care much about their studies.

The prince had much to do every day. He got up at six o'clock every morning and rode or took

some other exercise till eight o' clock. Then he read for an hour. After that he had his morning meal with the Maharani. Then he drove from the palace to the school. There he worked from ten in the morning to five in the evening. He had only one hour's rest in the afternoon.

After this he took some more exercise on the *maidan* near the school. He played Indian games, and did drill and sword exercises. Sometimes he went swimming. Once in every two weeks he went out to hunt. After school in the evening he read through his lessons for the next day. Then he had his evening meal and went to bed at about ten o'clock at night. You can see that the little prince had to

work very hard to fit himself for his duties as ruler.

He did very well as a student. His teachers found that he was quiet and worked hard. He was dutiful and had a kind heart. He always wanted to learn new things. One of his teachers said that he was kind and loving. Another said that he was clever and would not easily forget what he had once learnt. The young prince learnt much from the Maharani. She loved him as her own son, and taught him as much as she could. She always saw that he was well looked after at home.

His studies were broken twice. Once the prince had to go to Bombay to meet the Prince of Wales who later became King Edward

VII. He went to Bombay with the old Maharani and other officers of the State. This was his first visit to Bombay and he liked it very much. The Prince of Wales told him to read more English and to do more writing in English. He also gave Sayaji Rao a few presents: a whip, a sword, a box, a ring and two albums. After some days the Prince of Wales paid a visit to Baroda. He was honoured in the State in every way. He was shown wrestling matches and elephant fights. He saw many other sports as well. He liked his stay in the State very much.

The second time the little prince left his studies was when he had to go to the Durbar at Delhi, when Queen Victoria became the

Empress of India. There the Viceroy gave Sayaji Rao a new title. On this trip the prince saw much of India. He visited Agra, Lucknow, Benares and Allahabad. He bathed in the sacred rivers, the Narbada, the Jamna and the Ganges—a thing which every Hindu loves to do. He met some of the rulers of other Indian States. The whole journey taught him many new things.

4. PRINCESS LAXMIBAI

His people now thought that the time had come for him to be married. To find a good wife for him, many persons were sent to different places in India. Every one of them came back saying that he had found the right girl. The Maharani did not know whom to

choose. She therefore sent Sir T. Madhavrao, the Dewan of the State, to find the best among them. He chose Princess Laxmibai of Tanjore. She was younger than the Maharaja and came of a noble family. She was beautiful to look at and was very intelligent. The Maharani and the people of Baroda liked the princess. The marriage took place on 6 January 1880. The palace and the city of Baroda were then very gay. Everyone was happy, because everyone seemed to have some share in the fun which went with the marriage. This went on for about a month. After the marriage the first stone of a new palace, Laxmi Vilas, was put down. This was to be the home of the prince and the

princess. But the princess did not live in it, because she died before the building was finished.

People thought that the prince should be made the real ruler of the State as soon as he was eighteen. So he had to be trained for this and to learn the many duties of a ruler. For this special lessons were given. Sir T. Madhavrao told him about the art of ruling. Lessons were given him on farming. The prince was taught the law of the country as well as the old Hindu law. He had to learn about the police in the State. He also had to study the use of money and how to look after his army. He listened with much interest to all these lessons. But he liked the lessons best that he learnt from Sir T. Madhavrao.

Once the Maharaja was asked by a friend how he had spent his boyhood. To this he replied that he had been very lonely. He had known very few children of his own age. He always had to remember that he was the Maharaja.

5. THE *GADI*

In 1881 Sayaji Rao was made the ruler of the State. He was placed on the *gadi* and was made the real ruler. As you read on you will easily see what a good ruler Sayaji Rao was. This becomes clear when we look at his work and that of Malhar Rao. Under Malhar Rao the State was in a very bad way. The Maharaja spent all the State money. To get more for himself he taxed the people very



By courtesy of the Baroda Government

SAYAJI SAROVAR TANK

heavily. There were no good drains even in the capital of the State, and no running-water supply. Cholera very often broke out in the city. It was said that in the city of Baroda there were many dark houses in which men and women and children lived with horses, bullocks and goats. Many of the servants of the State, such as teachers and Sardars, had not been paid for a long time. While Sayaji Rao was growing up, Sir T. Madhavrao did much to make the State better. He had seventeen departments, each doing some work for the State. He tried to make the peasants happy and satisfied. He made changes in the law courts. He cut down the expenses everywhere. He gave the

city of Baroda a public park. He opened the Baroda College. He had good roads made and started many hospitals. He did all this before Sayaji Rao began to rule.

From the beginning of his rule Sayaji Rao took a great interest in his State. He worked hard and so regularly that every one in the State wished to be like him. 'His life runs as regularly as a clock' was very often said of him. He always got up when the sun rose. After a walk or a ride he worked till one o'clock when it was time for the midday meal. Then he rested for a short time. When he woke he worked till four-thirty or five in the evening. Then he read or talked. Before he had his dinner he went out for a walk. He read



By courtesy of the Baroda Government

HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III OF BARODA

till eleven o'clock at night and then went to bed. This is how he spent every day of his life. He went on doing so for fifty years or more.

6. A WISE RULER

The first thing he did on becoming the ruler of his State was to visit the different parts of his kingdom. He travelled for two months. He visited towns as well as most of the villages in one of the four provinces in his State. He made up his mind to see everything for himself. He inspected all the offices, schools and workshops in that province. All through his life he went on visiting the different parts of his State. When he went out he asked people to see him. He made them tell him what they

would like him to do for them. Sometimes he went into a village all alone. There he talked to anyone he came across. He sometimes had talks even with sweepers. He always travelled in a very simple way. He did not take too many members of his staff with him, nor too many things to make him comfortable on his journey.

It was on these travels that the Maharaja learnt what he should do for the good of his people. First he made up his mind to give Baroda a better water-supply. The water for the city could be brought from the Surya river. So a strong wall was built across the river and a lake was made for the storing of water. This lake is now called the Ajwa Lake or the Sayaji Sarovar

Lake. It can supply water to the city for two years and a half even if there are no rains. The Maharaja also thought about supplying water to the other parts of the State. He therefore set up a new department to look after this work.

In 1885 the Maharaja lost his beautiful and beloved wife, the Maharani Chimnabai. She was a good mother and a loving wife, and was loved by the people of the State. The Maharaja felt her death very much and so his health grew very bad. For many days and nights he could not sleep. But no one really understood how bad his health was. When the people of the palace found he was awake at night, they said: 'Oh, he is always thinking.' They did not think that he was sad

and ill because he had lost his wife. The law courts which can be seen in Baroda today were built by Sayaji Rao in memory of his wife.

After some time he married again. His wife was called Her Highness the Maharani Chimnabai II. She is a noble woman who always helped her husband in his work. She gladly came out of purdah to help him although many people thought it was not right of her to do so.

For some time the Maharaja had not been in very good health. He was asked by his doctors to take a holiday. So he went to Ceylon for three weeks. But this did not help him much. He was then asked by another doctor to go to Europe. He set sail for Europe,

with the Maharani, from Bombay. Even this was not liked by many of his people. It was not thought right for a Hindu to cross the seas. But the Maharaja did not mind. What he felt most was that he would be away from his people and his State. He, however, saw to it that his subjects did not lose in any way while he was away. After this he tried to go to Europe every year if he could find the time. He did this to have a holiday and to learn new things to make his State better. He believed that travel teaches more than books can teach. He also sent other young men to Europe for further studies.

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We will now learn of some of the changes he made in his State. He wanted every village to be self-

ruling. The people of the villages should not have to go to big towns, where they are not known or understood, to have every little trouble set right. Therefore every village with one thousand people had to have its own *panchayat*. These *panchayats* are made up of men who are chosen by the people themselves. Besides these there are members who are appointed by the State. These people look into most of the troubles in a village.

In 1899 there was no rain and the people had no food in Baroda. But the State gave work to many people. They were asked to sink wells, to make tanks, to build drains, and to do many other things for the country. For each piece of work they did they were paid. The

peasants were also allowed to borrow money from the Government, so that they could buy food from other states.

The Maharaja then passed a new law in the land to start societies to help the peasants. These societies were to lend money to the peasants. They were to teach them how to save money and to look after their land in a better way.

7. THE SILVER JUBILEE

In 1907 came the Silver Jubilee of the reign of the Maharaja. This meant that Sayaji Rao had ruled his State for twenty-five years. On this occasion taxes worth about five lakhs of rupees were remitted. Children could go to school without paying any fees. Two boarding

houses were opened for Harijans. Five students were sent to Europe for higher studies and the State gave them all that they needed. A new market was opened at Baroda called the Khande Rao market. Four new hospitals were built. Two homes were opened where poor people could live without paying anything. New gardens called the Jubilee Gardens were made so that the city should become more beautiful. Public wells were sunk throughout the State at a cost of five lakhs and fifty thousand rupees. This was to give the people fresh and clean water to drink. After some time a special group was formed to pass new laws for the State. Most of the members were chosen by the people. The Bank of Baroda was

opened. It has lent people money and done much to add to the trade of Baroda.

In 1908 Prince Fatehsingh, who was the eldest son and the heir to the throne of Baroda, died. The Maharaja was very sad. Fatehsingh Rao had one son, Prince Pratapsingh Rao, and this young man is now the ruler of Baroda.

In 1911 Sayaji Rao went to the Coronation Durbar at Delhi, of King George V and Queen Mary. He once said: 'My aim has always been to be a friend to the Government and to be a father to my own people. I want to keep up the good name of the State and am always fair in dealing with those who are under me. I want to do what is right and want to learn from

everyone. My own desire is that I should do justice to every person.'

8. 1914–1938

In 1914 came the Great War. The Maharaja did all he could to help the English. He gave fifteen hundred soldiers and about thirty-five lakhs of rupees to different funds. His own palace in Bombay was used as a hospital for officers. The Maharaja of Baroda and the people of Baroda lent money which could be returned by the British only after the war. The Maharaja was really glad when the war was over. He thanked God for it. He was a man who always loved peace.

The Maharaja went for a holiday to Kashmir in 1916, but he did

not forget his State while he was away. He used to write to his officers telling them how to make their country better. He asked them to build a new railway line. Once he wrote and said that he would like ten good books to be translated every year from English into simple Gujarati. He was always thinking of ways to make the lives of his people happy.

Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India, visited Baroda in 1919. He was very pleased with what he saw there. He said that the Maharaja tried to have all that is best in the East as well as all that is best in the West. The Prince of Wales visited Baroda in 1921 and was pleased to see the beautiful city, its palaces, jewels and fine buildings.

In 1925 the Maharaja had ruled for fifty years and many Durbars were held in his honour. The Maharaja received the thanks of his subjects as well as of others for his wise and just rule. The whole city was lighted and a firework show was given. The Maharaja inspected his army and gave food and clothes to many poor people. A part of the land taxes was remitted. The Maharaja was never tired of doing good. He set some of the prisoners free. He promised to have telephones placed in the big towns of the State. He promised to build a Kirti Mandir—a temple in memory of the rulers and their families and of the well-known people of the State.

In 1926 the Maharaja went to

Kavlana, the place of his birth. He had not been there ever since he had left it in 1885. He had a new house built where the old house in which he was born had stood.

The Maharaja was strong and worked hard as long as he lived. He always wanted to make Baroda better. If he went abroad, which was very often, he came back with new plans. He once went to Germany. There he saw banks for farmers. He made up his mind to open farmers' banks in Baroda also, to lend money to the poor farmers and to look after their savings. When he went to America, he was pleased with the schools there. He then asked a gentleman in America to tell him how to make

good schools for Baroda. He opened libraries in the State. These libraries are moved from one town to another. Wherever they are, the people are asked to take the books out and to read them. When he was in England he went to a chicken farm so that he could have the farmers in his own State taught how to keep better chickens and hens.

Everyone knows that the Maharaja did much for the State of Baroda. He made every department of the State as good as it could be. Above all, he did much towards making his subjects learn to read and write. All little children must go to school in this State. They are taught free. He also worked hard to have schools for girls. He founded the Kalabhavan, the home

of art, in 1890. Here young people are taught to do useful things. They learn how to weave and how to make soap and many other things. Then, when they grow up, they are able to work for themselves.

Though the Maharaja was a Hindu, he respected every religion in the world. He wanted the Hindus to give up those things which are not good for them.

He had better roads and railway lines built in his State. Today there are over six hundred miles of railway. He built a harbour at Adatara. This was opened in 1926.

All through his reign the Maharaja was kind to his peasants. He always did his best for them when there was famine or plague. He had them taught how to look after

their fields. He gave them better tools for the work on their farms. The best use has been made of the rivers and this has made the land rich. The Maharaja wanted Baroda to have good cattle. He tried to make his people earn more and to live healthy lives.

Baroda is now one of the best States in India because of the wise rule of the Maharaja. He chose able officers to help him and asked them to work only for the good of his people. He himself worked very hard. He did his work in spite of his bad health. All he wanted was to rule his State so well that everyone in it might be happy and contented.

He died in 1938 after a short illness.

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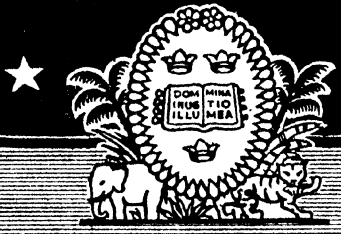
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SOCIAL PROBLEMS

S. NATARAJAN

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SOCIAL PROBLEMS

BY
S. NATARAJAN



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THE social problems of India have been hitherto problems of synthesis—the harmonious blending of the Hindu, Muslim and Western European ways of life—rather than problems arising out of economic inequality. The Indian National Social Conference, founded in 1887 soon after the Indian National Congress, always insisted that healthy political and industrial organizations must be rooted in healthy home and social conditions. In recent years there have been great changes in the status of women, the rigidity of the Hindu caste system is bending under the stresses of urban life, and the other characteristic feature of Hindu society, the joint family, is rapidly dissolving under the influence of increased individualism and personal ambition: new problems are rising. The author of this pamphlet surveys the present attitude towards marriage, divorce, the education of women, birth-control, prostitution and professional mendicancy, and concludes that social legislation on a national scale—for reforms in one community, province or State are inadequate—must be the task of the coming Central Government.

S. Natarajan has been associated with his father, K. Natarajan, in editing the *Indian Social Reformer* for the past seventeen years. He took over the editorship himself in 1940 when the weekly completed 50 years. He has described his experiences in Europe in *West of Suez* (1938).

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SOCIAL PROBLEMS

'SOCIAL PROBLEM' does not mean quite the same thing in India as it does in Western Europe. In the West the phrase is used mostly to indicate problems which arise out of the relations between the economic classes, and it is only in recent years that social studies in Europe and America have come to include questions concerning the structure of society and the family. In India it is the other way round. It was only in 1919, thirty-two years after the Conference was set up, that the General Secretary of the Indian National Social Conference, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, suggested that the Conference should include in its programme questions relating to labour, to sanitation and so on. Twenty-one years later, speaking at Baroda, Sir Raghunath Paranjpye made the same suggestion in almost the same language.

The reasons for this are to be found in the conditions which brought about the impulse for social work. In Europe it was the early cruelties of the industrial system which roused the more sensitive minds to action; in India it was contact with the West which awoke a conscious desire to change. Moreover, as the Poet Rabindranath Tagore once remarked, in India in the nineteenth century inequalities of wealth did not mean very great differences in social standards or in ways of living. But privilege, i.e. inequalities attendant on birth, was rendered galling by the new ideas that came into the country from Britain.

INFLUENCE OF WESTERN IDEAS

Today, however, the old enthusiastic preference for a society based on contract as opposed to the society built on status is not so confident as it was a hundred years ago. The five years of war too have made a difference. The two obstacles to any ordered progress in the first century of social reform from Raja Ram Mohan Roy have been an exaggerated importance placed on individual liberty and a desire to practise economy even in matters relating to national well-being. Now people, not alone in India but everywhere, have accepted a good measure of state interference in the life of the individual. The old prejudice against active participation of the state in the affairs of the citizen has died. Though wartime restrictions are necessarily of an emergency nature, they have had an educative effect. The difference between control and lack of control as shown in the field of food rationing, for instance, has softened the distrust of bureaucracy which is inherent in the pre-war democratic system. As for the financial aspect, the colossal sums expended on war have accustomed people to think in terms of greater spending. It is difficult to think of beneficial schemes being rejected in the post-war world for lack of money. This implies too in another way that the state will have to do much more in post-war India. At least it will be expected to, and in the conditions fast arising it will not be possible for the State to ignore public expectations.

This short survey of social problems begins with a statement of the position which the social, no less than any other, movement faces in the meeting of three different streams of culture in India. It goes on to

consider the channels through which modern thought has come to this country; the differences that mark out Indian society from other societies; Indian reactions to Western thought and institutions; the status of women and the problems arising out of their education; the marriage institution and the family; industrialization and its attendant complications; the altered attitude to legislation and to the law; and lastly the kind of government which will facilitate progress without reaction.

A characteristic feature of social movements in India, whether Hindu or Muslim, is that again and again there is a tendency to refer back to sacred texts to justify a reform, and scriptural sanction is sought to strengthen the argument for change though the problems which have made themselves felt since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy among the Hindus and Sir Syed Ahmed among the Muslims are the direct result of contact with the West. Among the Hindus the social movement for two notable periods stagnated in arid controversy over sacred texts. The first period was just before the setting up of the Social Conference, when progressive Hindu leaders frittered away their energies on shastraic discussion and debate; the second, when Mr Gandhi engaged the pundits on the untouchability issue.

Curiously, if one turns to the political field, one finds that Muslim leaders, who might as easily repudiate the leadership of what they call the largest Hindu organization on the ground that it is not sufficiently Western in its outlook, invariably raise the protest that it does not allow Muslims to develop the principles of Islamic Law. This is all the more notable in view of the tendency in other Muslim countries towards modernization.

Progressive elements in Indian society had to stress their policy of assimilation of Western ideas; they sought to prove to the parent communities that it was not a libertine desire to break all restraints that inspired them, nor were they trying to bring about a blind and complete imitation of Western institutions. 'Young Bengal', says a Bengali publicist, 'was baptized in whisky.'

A Problem of Synthesis

In fact, *the* problem of social life in India, as of every other aspect of national life, has been the great task of synthesis — of working out the harmonious blending of the three streams of culture which have historically a place in this country. Though at the moment the differences loom large almost to distraction, it is inconceivable to think of the India of today, much less the India of tomorrow, as completely free from any one of the three forces of national life. And it is most clearly visible in the social field, because the influence of their interaction is clearest in the things that affect everyday life. This is irrespective of political developments in the future. After all, the mere fact that the United States of America left the British system has not in any way reduced the Anglo-Saxon element in the culture of that country.

British Rule and English Literature

As social movements in modern India have been greatly stimulated by the impact on Indian society of ideas which had their origin in, or were associated in some way with, modern Europe, it is useful to consider the three main channels through which these ideas

found their way to India—British rule, English education and Christian missions.

The direct influence of British rule has been to stereotype existing institutions rather than to favour change. As Sir Henry Maine observed: 'The dominant theory has always been that the country ought to be governed in conformity with its own notions and customs. It is by its indirect and for the most part unintended influence that the British Power metamorphoses and dissolves the ideas and social forms underneath it.' There would seem to be a distinct difference in the official attitude, behind the continuity which the phrase 'religious neutrality' suggests, before and after the devolution of responsibility to Indians.

When one talks of the influence on social life of British rule, one is apt, generally speaking, to speak in terms solely of social legislation. But it would be unwise to ignore the effect of British Indian Courts of Justice. Judicial interpretation has been the traditional Indian method of change. The king was interpreter of the laws rather than the maker of them. For this reason, Hindu law was at its best more liberal in its working than the written texts. In the British Courts of Justice, naturally the English judge fought shy of liberal interpretations. And as a result the trend was towards reactionary decisions.

The direct influence of British rule may be described as being opposed to social progress. But it introduced English education, and English literature and history opened out to Indians long vistas of political and social freedom.

Missions and Social Consciousness

Christian missions have indirectly done much good to the country. The deficiencies of the Government in serving the social needs of the community left wide gaps which were excellently filled by mission workers. Their example was an inspiration to Indians. What was equally important was that their crude methods of proselytizing were instrumental in rousing Indians to provide social relief themselves. 'The fear of Christian missions', Mr K. Natarajan has observed, 'has been the beginning of much social wisdom in India.'

The weakness of the mission is its excessive emphasis on organization, which does not appeal to Indian minds. This is clearly seen in the difference between social service, which in India has grown out of missionary beginnings, and social reform. Social reform concerns the worker as vitally as it does the society for which he exerts himself. More, in fact, since in all matters affecting personal life, he has invariably to test his ideas in his own home.

Law and Legislation

So much then for the influences through which the West came to India. What of the people to whom these ideas filtered through the course of two centuries? Hindu society has proved very adaptable and open to new ideas. Many of the reforms which agitated the Social Conference in its early years are accepted today in the Hindu community. The old illusion tends to revive every time the East fails to come up to some expectation of ambitious individuals, that the East is unchanging, that the people of India are rendered

inactive by fatalism which sacred and profane literature has driven deep into them, and that the doctrine of reincarnation makes them lethargic even under intense suffering—but it is no more than an illusion based on a misunderstanding of the Indian character.

It is true that the possibilities of effecting a change in the laws were not appreciated in India because the law-giver was conceived of as some remote sage or prophet. The experience of one generation, however, has brought a difference in outlook which one must take into account. On its obverse side, it shows itself in a growing disrespect for law. After all one does not fear what one can change. As for the fatalism, even a cursory glance at *Mahabharatha* and *Ramayana* stories will dispel the idea that a passive fatalism is preached. If the emphasis is on destiny, it is also equally impressed on the reader that action, exertion, is essential. As for reincarnation, if it brings on a feeling of acquiescence in one's misfortunes, it should equally prevail as an influence against wrong-doing and for good deeds. As a matter of fact, *karma* and *kismet*, the two illusions of many European writers, have little to do with the passivity of the Indian outlook on life. If there is such a passivity, the reason must be sought for in the economic field. There must be a minimum of satisfaction of bodily wants before the mind can revolt.

THE STRUCTURE OF INDIAN SOCIETIES

The Caste System

The differences between the structures of Western and Hindu societies which strike the observer most are, first, the caste system and, almost equally, the joint

family. As all Indian societies reveal in some form these two influences, it is well to consider their force today. Sir Edward Blunt, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, in *The Caste System of Northern India* gives a working definition of caste. He writes:

> 'A caste is an endogamous group, or collection of endogamous groups, bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary, arising from birth alone; imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matter of social intercourse; either
>
> (i) following a common traditional occupation, or
> (ii) claiming a common origin, or
> (iii) both following such occupation and claiming such origin;
>
> and generally regarded as forming a single homogeneous community.'

The theory is that originally there were four castes differentiated by functions—the Brahmins being teachers and priests, the Kshatriyas soldiers and administrators, the Vaishyas merchants, and the Sudras manual workers. But two significant qualifications emerge from the earliest records of Hindu social conditions.

In the four classes there never seems to have been a hard-and-fast dividing line. The breaking away from caste tradition is nothing new in India.

Blunt observes that

> 'constant intercourse in the course of business drew divergent elements together, and also separated them from communities of which they were formerly part, till at last a new caste, occupational in nature, is formed. This process still goes on at the present time.'

However, it is not a process assisted by the census practice of insisting on members of the public declaring their castes, and it is to the credit of the Jat Pat Torak Mandal of Lahore that for the 1941 census it secured the right to the public of ignoring the caste column of the census papers.

The second point is that at no period in Hindu history are we shown the four castes and nothing more. It is not impossible that men of the first two castes—the others do not figure prominently—longed for a larger community and could think of no more than the abolition of sub-castes; and what they hoped for in the future, they found no difficulty in postulating of a past forgotten golden age, which they sought to restore.

Modern Imitations of Caste

Some Western writers have been attracted by the caste system as a fourfold division. What is more significant, some countries in Europe after the last war adopted many restrictions similar to those found in Hindu society. It is possible to argue that Hindu society after the Kurukshetra battle went through the same trials as, say, Germany and all Europe after the last war. At any rate the resemblances are striking.

In the totalitarian states we see the germs of many Hindu customs. Both Labour and Capital are controlled by the state; foreign contacts are discouraged; in status, education and social duties distinctions are made between the sexes; and sections of the population, divided either economically or by religion from the rest of the population, are declared outcastes.

The point has been made that the Indian caste is hereditary while Western classes are more fluid. The

severe restrictions which arose in Hindu society, however, would rather seem to indicate that the divisions were less there than in societies which have not legislated against intermarriage. The tendency for children to follow in the trade or profession of their parents is so universal that one wonders at the Hindu law-giver's enforcing it in the code. The stable-door, in social matters, is always locked after the steed has bolted. Hitler would not have troubled to penalize all relations between Jew and German had there not been evidence to show that differences between the two were being obliterated.

If developments like these help one better to understand the Indian social system, nevertheless today, whatever might be the process of social evolution in other lands, it is largely true that caste has broken down in Indian cities. This can be seen from the numerous instances of men and women pursuing occupations outside those indicated by their hereditary castes.

Where Caste Survives

Occasionally one reads of reaction even in the city, as when recently in Bombay and its suburbs admittance to the burning-ground was refused to funeral parties bringing in the bodies of persons of the lower castes for the last rites. There are still cases of petty tyranny by caste panchayats in urban areas. But in the main these are survivals which will in the near future be wiped out. More serious is the sectarian spirit, survival of caste, which is deeply entrenched. I was told once by the late Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola that there was nothing wrong in communalism in the matter of Government jobs because, after all, a man could naturally depend

most on persons who had been brought up in his way of thinking, and a popular minister had to guard against intrigue. While few individuals adopt so candid an attitude, this consideration is not altogether absent. It is weak even as an argument, because experience shows that jealousy of the man in power is often strongest within his own community or caste. In the words of Shakespeare's Cassius, 'I had as lief not be as live to be in awe of such a thing as I myself'. But even the European official in India has not been free of the defect of exclusiveness; and caste, which is everywhere crumbling, can claim its greatest influence in the administrative sphere.

It is in the rural areas that caste still maintains its early strength. British-Indian law has largely deprived the caste councils of their disciplinary powers, though even now they have not altogether fallen into disuse, especially in the villages where modern individualistic notions have not yet penetrated. But a gradual influence for change is to be seen in the migrations of populations from rural to urban areas in the industrial period, and, as it has been well said, 'he who builds a railway through the countryside plunges a dagger into its very heart'.

The attack on caste has never been direct. The late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, one of the great names of Western India in the reform movement, thought that only the development of a strong national consciousness could overthrow caste, and until ten years ago it was possible to believe that such a consciousness was growing. Matters look less promising now, though the externals of caste are not more in evidence.

The Outcastes

Sir Edward Blunt suggests that there are accidental excrescences which must disappear without harming the substance of the caste system. 'What is required', he remarks, 'is a pruning-knife, not an axe.' This leaves untouched the most difficult problem arising out of the caste system, the position of the Depressed Classes. In his presidential address to the Indian Social Conference in 1927, Mr K. Natarajan pointed out that the only final solution of the depressed classes problem was the abolition of caste: 'So long as there are castes, there must be outcastes.'

The members of this heterogeneous community, for there are many castes comprised in the depressed classes, suffer from varying degrees of disability in Hindu society. All of them are excluded from temples where caste-Hindus worship; till recently they were not allowed into schools and places of public resort; and some of the ugliest incidents have arisen out of restrictions placed on their use of the village well. The custom is enforced in its most inhuman form in South India and in Malabar. One obvious explanation of the growth of this class is that its members were penalized for generations for infringing some caste rule. Their social degradation has driven them to the worst trades and sometimes to habits which are now charged against them by caste-Hindus. There is no fundamental ethnic difference between them and caste-Hindus. Thurston, in his *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, says that the Nayadis of Malabar, the most despised class of untouchables in all India, are the descendants of some families of Nambudiri Brahmins who were excommunicated centuries ago for the breach of some caste rules.

Untouchability

The movement for the abolition of the degrading custom of untouchability has had a curious history. In its earlier phase it was a movement for the education of the members of these classes and was necessarily slow. When in 1932 Mr Gandhi took up their cause with a characteristic fast, the movement moved from the rational to the emotional plane. Efforts were concentrated on getting the 'Harijans', as they were named by Mr Gandhi, admitted to Hindu temples, and these efforts received wide publicity. But temple-entry is only one aspect of needed change. The pace of progress may be expected to grow more rapid now that leaders from within these classes are coming forward. The Hindu community is, as a whole, intellectually convinced that untouchability must go. But, significantly enough, the orthodox are more amenable to legislation on this matter in the Indian States than in British India. Travancore, which threw its temples open by a proclamation made by the Maharaja, provides a striking contrast to Madras where the Congress ministry's attempt to achieve the same result roused a certain amount of opposition from the conservative. The acquiescence of Travancore subjects is all the more noteworthy since the Hindu sovereign does not traditionally possess powers of legislating but is regarded as the upholder of the law; while in British India the public is accustomed to social legislation. The inference might well be drawn that the people in the Indian States look to their ruler as the final authority; while in British India power and responsibility are not completely vested in the ministers.

The influence of more equalitarian and democratic peoples on Indian society has not been what it might have been expected to be. On the other hand, it is not incorrect to state that up to the present period foreign elements were absorbed into the social system. As the chief feature of this was caste, the invaders were at a disadvantage. If they mixed with the population freely, they had to compromise with existing institutions; if, on the contrary, they held themselves aloof, they formed themselves into a separate caste, however much they repudiated the fact. What the equalitarian religion of Islam failed to do, the Christian missionary has not been more successful in achieving. The wheels of progress, said the Lindsay Commission on Christian Education, are dragged back by the heritage of mass conversions. When under the Congress Governments concessions were given to the depressed classes, there was a clamour for granting sums out of amounts allotted for this purpose to the members of these classes converted to Christianity. In the circumstances, to be effective a change had to commence within the Hindu system itself. That has already begun, and it is likely that it will release forces, so far held in check, outside Hinduism.

The Joint Family

We now come to the second, much-commented on, peculiarity of Hindu society, the joint family. Possibly there are no family systems quite on the scale of the Indian joint family. But the family concept is often wider than it is in Western Europe. To a certain extent, too, it is a case of economics. Prosperity promotes individualism; depression often herds people

together. Even from a national point of view, the state will not bother itself with too many inquiries when funds are ample and help has to be given to the unemployed, for instance. But in darker days a tendency creeps in to scrutinize claims and to see whether applicants have tapped other sources before coming to the state official. The nephew or brother-in-law of a rich man cannot be welcome either to his less fortunately placed fellow-sufferers or to unemployment boards. The successful man, who has received his education in England out of family funds, is apt to feel home obligations irksome, but such men are few.

The joint family is going and no one will lament overmuch at the fact. But it is not generally recognized that it served a purpose during the difficult transition period which our fathers and grandfathers had to face. It is said to have had a cramping effect on initiative. There is another side to the picture. Perhaps politics and other forms of public life may in the future be followed as a profession, but that has certainly not been usual in India in the past. The joint family has enabled many public men in India to ignore personal needs and to leave domestic cares to another member.

But we may leave the joint family to dissolve under the influence of increased individualism and personal ambition. It is a problem which has for some mysterious reason perplexed economists more than social workers. But in India, at any rate, it will be some time before the idea underlying the joint family fades out: that is, a feeling of responsibility for others besides those in the immediate circle of the home, on the one side; and, on the other, a tendency to cash in on this feeling. It has served both for provision for the old and destitute

and for unemployment relief; for India, though the poorest-placed economically in the world, has known no other. The state doubtless will assume a more direct responsibility in the future.

STATUS OF WOMEN

From the agitation started by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the third decade of the last century to the recent recommendations on inheritance and marriage of the Hindu Law Reform Committee set up under the chairmanship of Sir B. N. Rau, there can be traced a continuity in the social movement. The concern of early reformers was mainly with improving the status of women in Indian society. The first social legislation was for the abolition of suttee and it met with very little opposition, though the orthodox engaged Raja Ram Mohan Roy in a vigorous controversy on the subject. But the next step in the improvement of the Hindu widow's lot, the Widow Remarriage Act, was hotly contested. The prejudice against the remarriage of widows was deep-seated and, strange to record, not confined to Hindus. The late Begum of Bhopal writes in her autobiography:

> 'My mother's remarriage was an act contrary to the customs of the Afghan race . . . the Muhammedans of India had rigidly adhered to the custom of the Afghans and this had now taken such a hold on society that any breach of it was regarded as a heinous sin. This feeling was shared by men and women alike; even those whose ideas had been modified by Western education, never permitted second marriages in their own families and up to the present day the practice is viewed with disfavour by nearly all Muhammedans of Afghan descent.'

Neither second marriage nor the remarriage of widows is looked on with disfavour by Islam, and the deep feeling recorded by the Begum must be ascribed to the influence of Hindu customs on Indian Muslim society. Even the reformers who worked for the Remarriage Act were concerned largely with the case of child widows. And from this to the Sarda Act of 1929, which fixed the marriage age of males at eighteen and of females at fourteen, was a logical step though long in being taken. The Sarda Act was mainly an educative act, and now after thirteen years the time is ripe for making marriages under these ages void.

Inheritance and Monogamy

There is curious evidence of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's wide outlook and prescience in the manner in which he argued the case for abolishing suttee. In discussing the origin of this custom, the Raja maintained that it was largely due to the inequitable laws relating to succession to property among Hindus; that the Hindu widow found herself practically destitute, and, in the few cases where she owned some property, she was harassed by the relatives of her deceased husband, and that the despair created by these conditions and the humiliating practices to which she was subjected was the principal cause of her deciding to immolate herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

The Rau Committee's two Bills, which are now before the country and are to come into force from 1946, aim at securing for the Hindu wife her due position in the family and her right to inherit property. The more important of the two is the measure introducing monogamy in Hindu marriage, both civil and sacramental.

There has been of late an agitation among Muslim women for the introduction of monogamy in Muslim marriage as well. Islam permits polygamy to the extent of four wives but it is conditional on the husband's ability to deal equitably or justly with them. Sir Edward Blunt, writing of the United Provinces, makes the interesting observation that

> 'as early as the ninth century, there were Muslim jurists who held that monogamy alone was lawful . . . in this province Muhammedans rarely contract a second marriage unless no son has been born of the first.'

Divorce

When the Rau Committee's monogamy measure is adopted, it will stabilize the position so far as post-1946 Hindu society is concerned. The question naturally arises, What is to be done for women who have suffered from a second marriage before that date? Their position might lead to the introduction of a divorce law for Hindu sacramental marriages and for those forms of the civil marriage, like the Anand Marriage Act and the Arya Marriage Act, which do not enforce monogamy. From this it may extend gradually. But to argue, as is now done, that the introduction of monogamy for Hindu men—marriage was always most strictly monogamous for Hindu women—makes divorce also imperative, is to say in effect that it is too much to expect men in the community to be loyal to one wife. In fact it is the very type of men who resorted to a second marriage who would abuse a divorce law. Even if divorce is introduced, it is doubtful whether there would be very great resort to it. The experience of

Baroda State, which has the credit of having adopted both a Divorce Act and a Monogamy Act ahead of other parts of India, is instructive. In the ten years that it has been in force, only thirty-four cases have been filed from castes in which divorce is not permitted by custom. Some of them have in fact been made by persons who acquired a Baroda domicile for the specific purpose. This should itself be an index of the effect which a divorce law in British India is likely to have on Hindu marriage.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that ideas on marriage are changing. So far as Bengal is concerned, the change is evident even in middle-class families where new ideas enter more slowly. Frequent reports appear in the newspapers of women becoming converts to Islam in order to obtain dissolution of the marriage tie. The common element in all these cases has been unhappiness in the home and cruelty from the husband. Hindu society, it would seem, has now no choice in the matter. Since the procedure involved is conversion, notice to the husband to follow into the new faith and a declaration of dissolution in Court, it may be said that divorce has already come into Hindu marriage. What remains is to recognize the fact by adopting a divorce law.

Education

A custom like *purdah* tends to give way with the education of women. In fact the All-India Women's Conference does not even worry to adopt resolutions asking for its abolition. There is also the dowry problem, which exists in an intense form in some parts of the country and against which there has been some

attempt at legislation. But the ways of surmounting legal barriers are easily seen, and more change is essential in the mental attitude of men and women with girls to be married off than in the laws of the land.

This is why the attention of reformers was first drawn to women's education. Referring to the early days of reform towards the close of the last century, Mr K. Natarajan said in his presidential address to the Social Conference in 1927: 'The subject which most engaged our attention then was naturally the education of women, for it is the master-key which unlocks all the doors of progress.' There was a conflict in ideals among the reformers so far as the content of that education was concerned. Professor D. K. Karve of Poona had conceived the idea of starting a separate Women's University with curricula widely differing from those of men's institutions, and with characteristic energy he threw himself selflessly into his work. But the general tendency in India has been in support of giving women the same education as men.

Birth-control

Another social problem which has risen of recent years is birth-control. In the West the movement has encountered some resistance from the Churches, but in India organized religion has not taken any stand on this subject. Unfortunately the birth-control enthusiast begins where the American propagandist now stands and urges birth-control as a cure for many things, not excluding the population problem. Birth-control started in the West as a relief for women whose health was shattered by excessive child-bearing and with the object of avoiding this. Within that sphere it has a definite place. The

over-confident advocate might consider, before he urges it as a method of restricting population, why Holland, which was the first country to allow birth-control education, should have had the record of the highest birth-rate in Europe; why Russia, with all its propaganda for birth-control, has maintained a steady increase in population. There are many ardent workers who are convinced of the great influence which birth-control will have on population, but earnestness is no substitute for study.

Religious Prostitution

When the social reform movement was started, it had to deal with the problem of the *devadasis*. These women, who were dedicated to lives of singing and dancing, were engaged to perform at domestic and social festivities. Around them was built what is known as the 'family system' in contrast to commercialized prostitution. The anti-nautch movement was started in 1894-5 in Madras and the pioneers of the movement were attacked as vandals bent on destroying the ancient arts of music and the dance. The movement attained a large measure of success, and the criticism has been answered by the fact that today these arts are being studied by respectable members of society. The knowledge which was kept restricted to a caste is now being diffused through schools throughout the country. Dr Muthulakshmi Reddy successfully introduced a Bill in the Madras Legislative Assembly in 1928 to put an end to the practice of dedicating girls to temples. Similar measures have been adopted throughout the country, in British India and some of the more progressive States.

PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

There has been at the same time an extension of the brothel system. The worst localities where the system has taken root are the great sea-towns like Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon. Legislation has been introduced to put down brothels, but clandestine prostitution varying with economic conditions is widespread. In Bombay a great effort is being made with the co-operation of all communities. The League of Nations in its report on the *Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes* bracketed together as equally successful the 'Houses of Bethany' conducted by Dominican nuns and the Prophylactoria in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The first of these is incapable of general adoption as it hinges on the Christian doctrine of sin and redemption, which is not only not acceptable to non-Christians but is repugnant to many modern thinkers. Vigilance Societies have done good work, but the 'marked coin' method, which is resorted to at times, smacks somewhat of the *agent provocateur* and has its obvious defects.

The evil in India is mostly confined to the large manufacturing cities, where large numbers of adult males are attracted by the prospect of employment and have to live in conditions which prevent their leading a healthy family life. The great disparity between the male and female population in industrial cities is in itself a reason for the growth of prostitution in such conditions. In the interior marriage is general, but the Indian peasant is often forced to seek employment in towns, and as these men visit their villages periodically, there is a tendency for life in the village to be affected by city complications.

Prohibition and Temperance

Like the social purity movement, the agitation for the prohibition of alcoholic liquor consumption was one for restrictions on the freedom of the individual, not for greater expansion of liberty. It had the sanction of both Hinduism and Islam and it was taken over by the Congress Party as one of its main planks. The subject has become a live issue since that party tried to introduce it during its administration in several provinces. The most successful attempt was in the district of Salem in the Madras Presidency, where much propaganda for the cause had been done previously. It was at its weakest in the city of Bombay, where the cosmopolitan element did not take kindly to the reform. It must be admitted, too, that the ministry was not judicious in its methods. The reform was linked with a property tax which enabled the two vested interests to combine in an agitation. It is wrong in a sense to speak of the liquor interests as 'vested' in India, as the licensing system introduced by the state prevents the growth of vested interests round liquor.

The argument for prohibition is that it is in the interests of the labouring classes. In the early propaganda days, it used to be argued that the evidence and practice of insurance companies showed that abstainers had a longer expectation of life than even moderate drinkers and that experimental tests had shown that most accidents were due to indulgence even abstemiously in liquor. It has been stated that in the past fifty years, insurance companies have decided that moderation in liquor is more healthy than abstinence. If sobriety is the aim, would it not be better, it is further urged, to work

for temperance than for prohibition? The fact that it is not those who are keen on temperance who urge this argument need not deter the social worker from considering it seriously. But the serious drawback in the theory is that, like voluntary sterilization, it only influences those who have the capacity to think out things for themselves. Prohibition has been marred as a cause by the futile, irritating, effort made by politicians in power. In Bombay the permit system reduced prohibition to a farce. The suggestion that the Congress Party should enforce a pledge of abstinence on its own members was never seriously considered.

The two main objections, from the administrative point of view, to prohibition are that it involves a heavy loss of revenue to the Government, which in turn means the starving of essential public services; and that it is easily flouted as a law. Those who have studied the colossal sums of money spent on the present war will not be impressed by the first contention. If a society can be made to contribute large amounts for munitions, surely it can be even more easily asked to give for the promotion of national well-being. The objection that it is easily disregarded is a feeble one. There are offences in the Penal Code which can as readily be set at naught, yet no one has suggested that that code be repealed. What is necessary here, as in other spheres, is to get over the bureaucratic tendency to find, the moment a change is suggested, a thousand and one reasons for not doing anything. The mistakes of the past will prove a necessary corrective to policies framed when prohibition efforts are renewed.

The Beggar Problem

An important problem is set up by the vast numbers of beggars in India. Dr P. Kodanda Rao of the Servants of India Society has been doing pioneer work in this field in Nagpur. In its worst form, it prevails as religious mendicancy, against which there is no strong public feeling. Even modern sects have been exploiting the credulity of the public by organizing house-to-house sales of tracts prophesying the end of the world and other dire evils. State action can only come with the growth of public opinion. Secular beggars thrive on indiscriminate charity, and it is not easy to press for measures driving them off the streets without adequate provision to take care of them. Bombay has made a notable experiment in this direction with the Beggars' Home established under Mr K. M. Munshi's lead at Chembur, a suburb of Bombay. Calcutta, under the threat of Japanese raids, attempted to remove its beggars outside the city limits and take charge of them. The attempt was admittedly a failure. If something on the lines of the great Chinese Industrial Co-operative experiment is attempted in dealing with beggars, it should yield excellent results.

Political Influences on Society

I have given above a rapid survey of the reforms which represent the reaction of Indian society to the impact of modern ideas. The Amritsar Social Conference in 1919, at which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar delivered the message to which I referred at the outset, marked a turning-point in the history of the Indian national movement. The social reform movement, as

Sir Narayan said, had merged into the national movement. The reforms to which he wanted social reformers to extend their interest are all reforms which can be effectively carried through only by the machinery of administration. The position today is that real social progress cannot be achieved unless there is political power. In fact, this has been the position for some time, and every advance in reform has been accompanied by greater social activity. But there has been an unfortunate feature of Indian political development which has weakened national life. The Morley-Minto Reforms gave the first element of representation in the Councils; they also introduced separate electorates. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms conceded the elective principle; they also brought in weightage. The Hoare scheme of 1935 conferred a great measure of control over internal affairs; it also injected provincial autonomy. The Cripps plan offered Dominion Status with the right to secede; it also contemplated the creation of more than one Dominion out of the India of today. A free India, it seems, cannot be a whole India. In consequence, much of the national energy which would have been spent otherwise in constructive service is frittered away in counteracting the fissiparous tendencies in the public life of the country.

Literacy and Industrial Life

In education, our leaders are fortunately conscious of the need to have more than literacy. But the cry against 'wastage', which has been frequently raised in recent years, is deplorable. The Sapru Committee Report on unemployment, published ten years ago, had a bias

against general education, yet even that report had to admit that prospects of employment are brighter for men with an Arts degree than for technically trained men. And this is putting it at the lowest. India will need technical men and we cannot have too many of them. But the humanities should not be neglected. What is necessary is a removal of the artificial distinction between technical training and liberal education. There is no reason why a man who is quick with his brain should not be taught to be deft with his hands.

In the industrial field, India has been particularly unfortunate. Not only has the Government been averse to setting up large-scale industry, but the best-organized political party in the country has declared its dislike for industrialization on any effective scale. The energies which should have been concentrated on a single-minded agitation for developing the vast natural resources of the country and for usefully employing its colossal man-power have been diverted to other channels. It is dangerous to be drawn by fear of the very real evils of modern industrialism into a championing of medievalism. India, if she has the disadvantage of being fifty years behind Western European countries, has also the advantage of being in a position to profit by their mistakes. Electricity, which ushered in the second industrial revolution, eliminates the disadvantages of a civilization built up on steam-power.

When Mr G. K. Gokhale started his drive for primary education, it was felt that self-government could only come to a people with the spread of education. Now it is being increasingly felt that industrialization requires general literacy at least. The Grady Mission from the United States of America has paid a

high compliment to the efficiency and teachability of the Indian industrial worker. If he is educated, and to educate a man who is quick to learn his work should not be very difficult, he will be a more competent member of society.

THE STATES AND BRITISH INDIA

The social reform movement was one which took in all communities, and covered the whole of India, British India and Indian States. It had overcome the distinction between official and non-official. Even in 1927 when the Government had begun to look askance at popular movements, it was officially declared that Government servants might participate in the Social Conference. The only organization which to a large extent shares this catholicity today is, significantly enough, the All-India Women's Conference. The merging of the social movement in the national movement, to which Sir Narayan referred in 1919, does not today appear to be the unmixed blessing it seemed then. From the point of view of the largest political organization, it led to an unfortunate disproportion in its attitude towards reforms, so much so that it has been charged with being a Hindu body. From the social side, it resulted, as any movement dealing with numbers must, in developing the emotional attitude to the exclusion, or at least the detriment, of the older rational outlook. In place of the earlier concept of society as a whole, there have grown up sectional interests concentrating on their own difficulties.

An interesting study is the progress of social reform and legislation in Indian States. The problems are the same as in British India. Baroda has been the pioneer in

legislating against child marriages, in providing for divorce and recently in making Hindu marriages monogamous. Not all States, however, have shown themselves enthusiastic for reform, some of them lagging fifty years behind British India. This is due to the absence of public opinion. I have referred to Travancore's Temple-entry Proclamation. Cochin, though conservative in regard to temple-entry, pursues a policy of helping education among the backward classes by remission of fees. The setting up of representative institutions in most of the progressive States serves as a brake to the very real danger of rulers succumbing to reactionary impulses. The recent case of H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore, a State with the highest traditions of social reform, marrying a second time during the lifetime of his first wife—and that, too, only a month before the Rau Committee's recommendation for making Hindu marriages monogamous—is a grievous disappointment.

THE FUTURE

Social reform ceased in 1919 to be a movement concerned solely with social institutions. It had become a method which—let us be frank about it—found no place in the arid controversies which began in the political sphere and soon spread everywhere. But stalemate is not a permanent condition, and signs are not wanting to show that constructive policies will once more take the field. India will have to unlearn the lessons of the last twenty years in two important respects. In the first place, there is a great amount of constructive work waiting to be done and all of it requires study. The danger is that the people will be screwed up to a

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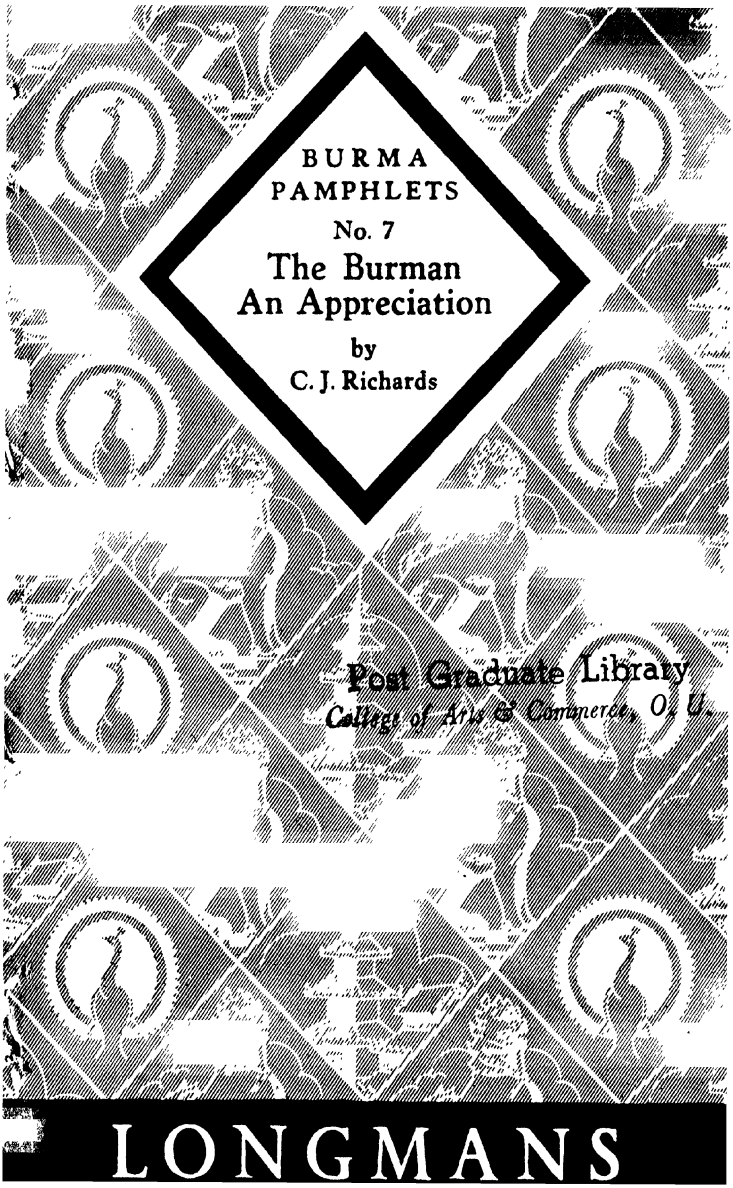
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appear on either bank, between which the muddy river from its immense delta pours down a slow and turbid stream on which scum, flotsam and water hyacinth float to the sea. The Shwe Dagon pagoda set on its distant hill sparkles remotely in the haze. As Rangoon approaches river-craft increase in numbers. First Chittagonians, bare-headed and naked to the waist, propelling creaking sampans across the stream ; then barges, ferry-steamers, motor-boats and an outgoing Bibby steamer passed us. On the wharves Indians swarmed on all sides—Indian business men and clerks meeting their burra sahibs on board, Indian agents, Indian hotel porters and touts, Indian coolies chattering and scratching themselves, Indian chuprassees magnificent with beards, umbrellas and badges of office.

"But where are the Burmans?" I remember asking my nearest fellow-passenger and was told that Rangoon was practically an Indian city and that few people employed Burmans as they were lazy and cost more than Indians.

Throughout the intervening years, the spectacle of the streets of a country's capital so strikingly unfrequented by its own people was to me a permanent source of pained amazement. There were Burmans of course in Kemmendine and other suburbs. At festival times they thronged the Shwe Dagon pagoda and the *kyaungs* (monasteries) at Bahan, but in the centre of the city one rarely saw them. There were whole streets full of Indian shops. Barely one passer-by in fifty was a Burman. Many of the Government and commercial offices employed a staff that was almost entirely non-Burman. It was the same with the railways, the tramway service, the Corporation employees, the dock and shipping labour. In this unreal

city, the capital of Burma, lived probably three-quarters of the total European population of the country, yet their contact with the indigenous inhabitants of Burma was of the slightest. The majority of them spoke no Burmese and knew nothing of the country or of its people, their customs and mode of life. Few even employed Burmese servants, for it was easier to obtain the services of John or Anthony Madrassee. He spoke English just like master, wore much the same kind of clothes and drank the same gin. Moreover, he was cheaper which was the basic reason for his popularity. He was also, perhaps, more amenable to discipline and had greater powers of application. He had certainly a greater appreciation of the virtue of punctuality than the Burman, and for most of these reasons it is perhaps not difficult to understand the business attitude. But I shall never be persuaded that we have not made a vast mistake in discarding the Burman in favour of the Indian for employment in many enterprises, in which time and patience would in the long run have turned him into at least as efficient a servant, with a great fund of commonsense, a better appreciation of values and with at least as much of a sense of honesty. Perhaps in the realization of his responsibilities was where the Burman failed most.

It was, however, to me at any rate, a strange anomaly, this capital of Burma, where there was so slight a social contact with the people of the country. Into the majority of the European houses, I think it would be right to say, no Burman ever entered as a guest or visitor, year in, year out. The Rangoon commercial man (and many of the officials as well) would have been genuinely surprised at the suggestion that the relations between the races would

have been improved by social contact. Many of the sahibs pouring down the whiskies and the pink gins at the wholly-European clubs in the bad old days or playing their eighteen holes at Mingaladon would have been shocked at the intrusion of the Asiatic into their social fastnesses. Sometimes the aspiring Burman or Indian was cruelly blackballed and retained an anti-European bias for the rest of his life. The reasons usually put forward for their exclusion—that the European members would feel uncomfortable in their presence, that they would not be able to talk freely or that the Asiatic would become offensive after the absorption of too much liquid—all seem to me to be illusory. Is there any reason why we should not be on just as happy social terms with Asiatics as with those of our own blood? And up-country, where I have enjoyed the friendship of many Burman fellow club-members, I can truly say that I have never met one in any way offensive, whereas I cannot say the same for all Europeans. When once the barrier of reserve was broken, European and Burman met and liked each other—they played the same games (in which the Burman was very frequently superior) and laughed at the same jokes, and if the Burman's knowledge of the world was somewhat limited, he had a considerable fund of commonsense knowledge. "Do you mean to say that you ask Burmans to dinner?" a woman once asked my wife. "I might ask them to tea but never to dinner." Another registered horror when I told her that on tour I sometimes ate curry for dinner and wore a *longyi* (Burmese skirt worn by men and women) to sleep in. "Going native," I suppose. Why on earth not? The only objections that I can see are that a heavy dollop of rice at night will probably give

you violent dyspepsia and that a *longyi* tends to wind itself round your neck before morning. Let me go native then ; and those that like it, let them wear their stiff white collars and insanitary black dinner jackets, sweating round the club floor on dance nights when the thermometer stands at over 90°.

THE REAL BURMA

Looking back through those twenty odd years, I feel that I can claim to have seen the Burman at his best, though at times I have certainly seen him at his worst. I have seen the real Burma, the Burma that is no more like Rangoon than real France is like Paris—the Burma of the fields and forests, and the countless little villages with their very kindly folk. I have missed the Silver Grill and the race course and the pomp and panoply of greatness in high places—but I believe that I have known Burma. Looking back, I can see a constant series of camps outside little villages, at the edge of paddy fields, in forest clearings, by the side of meres and up lonely creeks, in queer little forgotten bungalows, in tents and shacks and village houses. There is always the thump-thump of pounding rice, the boom of the monastery gong and the vespers of the village boys, there is a crooning of doves from high *yas* (planted fields) at noon, the sleepy crow of jungle cocks answering the village roosters on cold mornings when it was good to lie in the blankets and look at the embers of last night's camp fire, the song of harvesters and the sudden ring of laughter from tea-drinkers just across the village street, the pulse and blare of the village orchestra, the charm of dark eyes and satin

skin, the scent of jasmine and tuberose, and over all the huge moon riding. An unending panorama of journeys on foot, by pony or by boat through the keen early vigour of the cold weather, the generous gush of rain or the winking heat of the April sun, and always accompanied by so kindly and hospitable a people. As high lights, some days stand out clear—those days after snipe or jungle fowl and the colossal gorge on curry and beer to follow, the morning when Sein Kho and I looked down a long grass slope with all Arakan melting into the distance and saw the big tusker step out of his dripping bamboo thicket into the sunlight, that first cinema show given to a clamorous audience in the backwoods of Katha, that very hilarious party we gave to the whole station at Tharrawaddy, the unforgettable thrill on seeing one's first tiger.

During the lapse of nearly a century in most parts of Lower Burma and of two generations in Upper Burma we failed, I think, rather dismally to find the soul of the people, largely because we never really tried to find it and because we had too many things to do to spare the time. Some of us were too occupied with our purely European social activities. Others tended to become town-minded and to seek the attractions of the town. The octopus arms of the Secretariat claimed more and more willing victims. Early marriages often killed the desire for a roving District life and lessened the need for contact with the people. Even the District officer tended to become less mobile as work of all kinds piled up on his office table keeping him more and more chained to his headquarters, and the opening up of motorable roads and the introduction of the cheap car made his visits to remote

areas increasingly rarer, for was it not easier and quicker to go to places accessible by car? And so, as in the Secretariat, he began to deal oftener with abstracts and with people he did not know than with real problems of flesh and blood. The lessening of our contacts decreased our mutual affection and esteem. The weakening of the civil arm and the falling off of the use of the big stick, which the Burman both understood and respected, still further paralysed our hold over the people, for whom the summing up of a good officer used to be expressed in the words, *"yo lè yo thé, kyauk lè kyauk te,"* respecting yet fearing. A vacillating policy in matters pertaining to law and order still further hastened the rot. The District officer found himself perpetually frustrated by the machinations of the Ministry, itself ever kaleidoscopically changing, and the Ministry found itself bound to interfere with the authority of the District officer in order to maintain its dignity. The effect on the nation at large was definitely deleterious. Much of the old confidence in that visible sign of government, the local officer, perished. The urban administration became more and more absorbed in its own devious ways of intrigue and money-making and avoiding the eye and hand of superior authority, and the village tended to be less countrified as more and more land passed into the hands of the moneylender and as rural demagogues, a species of very shoddy Gracchi, usurped more and more power.

To the end, however, especially in those parts of the country which were least touched by politics, the District officer remained a power and a beacon, even if rather a waning beacon, in the land. But the government became less paternal. Gone were the days when villagers would

bring their disputes to the civil officer and listen to his unofficial decision. In the latter days they preferred the pleader who has brought such ills to Burma. In the passing of this *"ma bap"* form of Government, the democratically-minded see the evolution of responsible local self-administration. Its passing will be deplored by those who believe that for some time to come the best thing for Burma is rule by close contact with the best type of local administrator.

THE BACKBONE OF ADMINISTRATION

The introduction of the new Village Act and the increasing frequency with which Headmen's elections were upset by Government and general interference in village matters greatly disrupted village life, but in spite of this the Headman continued, as always, to be the backbone of the administration. Some of my happiest memories are of Headmen—of U Shwe Hlaing, a grand old man with a closely shaven head and an unkempt straggling moustache, who ruled his village without fear or prejudice for 40 years and was finally killed by dacoits whilst defending his wife and family ; of old U Thet She who always called out his villagers for a partridge shoot, leading the beaters himself and shouting louder than any, till cholera laid him low ; of Ko Tun Gale with his refreshing enthusiasm for anything new, a village library, a village fire-brigade gay with country-made topees and red arm-bands, a new *pwè*, a day after duck or snipe, anything to relieve the routine of village life ; of U Kywet ("The Old Rat"), who always smelt of country liquor and was perpetually late with his revenue ; of U Lu Shok whose relations were

mostly cattle-thieves and dacoits, whom in spite of various attempts I never managed to oust—always bland and polite, and always thoroughly inscrutable and disreputable. The faces of scores of Headmen I can see as I look back, Headmen sitting in their best clothes at durbars trying to follow my attempts to address them in Burmese, Headmen slogging round the paddy fields with me, in boats, in camps outside their little villages, in their own houses with their wives sitting talking with their pretty daughters hovering half-shy, half-coquettishly in the background as they cooked the rice or polished up the pots—those well-remembered houses with the arm-chairs full of bugs, and the antimacassars, and the Seth Thomas clocks and the coloured almanacks from Rangoon, the dusty little Buddhas or pictures of pagodas in the family shrine in the corner, with the year's supply of rice in bags and the maize cobs hanging with the cobwebs of ages from the ceiling, and the youngest member of the family being precariously rocked in his hammock by his elder sister paying far more attention to me than to her charge. Clearest of all perhaps, I can see those troops of Headmen in Upper Burma riding with me through the country lanes, going full bat, knees out and heels in, their *gaungbaungs* (headdresses) flying in the wind, till one got caught up in a thorny bush when the whole cavalcade came to an abrupt halt, and it was difficult to avoid falling over one's pony's head. Burmese saddlery always seemed to me to be so typical of the Burman, so gay and haphazard, with the coloured headstalls and the coloured tassels hanging from the saddle, the girths that were always breaking and the stirrup leathers made of rope strung with balls calculated to give one acute agony in the shin bones.

VILLAGE FOLK

Charm was, I think, the predominating characteristic of the best of the country folk. They knew exactly what to do when offering hospitality and what to say. They did not know, however, when to go and in my early days I sometimes sat long and patiently waiting for some visitor or applicant to take his *congé*. Soon, however, I began to realize that I should have to terminate the proceedings—otherwise some of them would sit on indefinitely. They were of course inimitable bluffers and the most perfect of opportunists. They made the most obviously impossible requests, apparently in the hope that the consequences and implications would escape one's attention. In fact they were a most disarming people, so that even when they had merited one's grave displeasure, it was difficult sometimes to maintain an attitude of indignation for very long. Even some of the worst of them—murderers and dacoits and habitual thieves—somehow managed at times to have the gift of softening the harsh word. As elsewhere, the murderer seldom looked like a murderer. In the gaols one sometimes saw benign-looking old murderers who had been swatting flies in the cookhouse for years. But some of the habituals, who made the gaols their home, looked proper stiffs. In the best of the rural areas—and by this I mean those parts which were furthest away from the contaminating influence of the towns, and free from the clutches of the scheming demagogue, the politically-minded priest, the corrupt lawyer, and the rack-renting landlord—there was a kindliness and gentility about these people that could not fail to endear them to one's heart, in spite of all their

faults and irritating characteristics. Personally, I never ended a tour without feeling that I had made new friends and had seen a little more of their difficulties as well as of their simple joys, which it was so easy to share, if one only had the inclination. Nor could I ever understand why the European found the jungle lonely or boring, for on tour I always felt myself among friends with whom I could talk and have a laugh, and the forests were peopled by a fauna and flora which it was a constant delight to hunt or observe. The long treks from one village to another past paddy fields with their ripening grain, or when the crop was gathered in sheaves, or during the rains when every field was brimful of water and the heavens lowered and the frogs croaked incessantly, through sesamum fields with their lilac-coloured flowers or maize with its tasselled cobs—the carts piled high with kit, followed by the boys—with the winding road ahead of one and the dogs—the welcome of the villagers led by the Headman, and sometimes the village orchestra of flute, cymbal, and brass and cowhide drums that always appreciated so much a word of praise for the little princes who danced in front of one's temporary abode or the few rupees one gave them but which they never, at least never obviously, expected—the cocoanuts, plantains and eggs (usually half of them inedible) and the best flower vase displayed on the best table the village could raise, waiting in one's shack—those most amazingly efficient and comfortable little *mandats*, put together by the villagers in a few hours, of bamboo and *thetkè*-grass roofing, with a sitting-room office in front, a bedroom at the side and bathroom at the back. Was there ever such a handyman as the jungle Burman? Sitting there after

a long walk or ride one could let the rural peace sink in. The Headman and his villagers squatted at the doorway—one talked of crops and harvest expectations, of rents and revenue and prices, of cattle and the latest news, for though they were so far removed from the world outside, until the terror came to them out of the skies, they were always interested in anything one had to tell them—even, perhaps as old U Chit, the Myo-ok, once remarked in a diary, "in modern things such as machine-guns and Piccadilly Circus".

To the villagers those arrivals were always something of an excitement. If the District officer was a newcomer, there was always the novelty of speculating what sort of a fellow he was. Was he soft-hearted or would he roar like the "Tiger D. C." of ineffaceable memory? Would he be accessible or would he merely shut himself up in his tent or shack and only see those who wanted to get something out of him? Would he bring his wife and, if so, what would she look like? Had he any children? Was he good at Burmese and, if not, could he be easily taken in? Did he understand anything about crops? If not, would it be easy to bounce him on remissions?

All these and suchlike queries could be answered by the *lugalé* (table-boy) or the old Burman cook from Pakokku who, though 60 years of age, never rode on a cart, never complained of tiredness or sore feet, but got down to cooking porridge and eggs and bacon within ten minutes of arrival in camp, and had a cracking good breakfast served up within half an hour. I have nothing but praise for Burman servants on tour. They bore the ups and downs, the long marches through blistering sun or soaking wet (often not getting into camp before 1 or

2 A.M.) with complete equanimity; and they never grumbled, at least mine never did. Even when they had reached camp, they were not free to sit down and rest but had to get one's kit unpacked and one's food ready. It was a life of constant shifts, of endless packing-up, yet they rarely forgot or broke anything. The stenographers and camp-clerks were also excellent. They made first-class *bandobasts* on tour, and did a variety of odd jobs for one in their spare time, ungrudgingly and with perfect honesty. The office peons could turn their hands to waiting at table and general odd jobs—and here I would like to pay a tribute to some very good Indian peons who have followed me round the country-side, strangely aloof some of them, speaking fluent Burmese with so queer an accent that it was difficult to identify it with the original, and cooking their own food at fireplaces free from the contaminating influence of those of another faith.

That one's arrival should have been a matter of such interest after so many years was always a source of amazement to me for I do not think that they attended on one merely because of one's official position, though, no doubt, this had a good deal to do with it. There was, however, something very definitely mysterious about the European to the Burmese mind, even though we had lived the best part of a century in his country. Thus it was that one's every action was a matter of interest to the rustic mind, what one ate, what peculiar things one ate with, whether and when one bathed, what clothes one wore—almost every movement and action was closely observed in many villages. I used to wonder sometimes whether the arrival of a buck nigger with all his pots and pans and possessions on a village green in England would have aroused

just as much interest among the village lads. Very probably it would, and the village maidens might have peeped at his ablutions, as has sometimes happened to me sitting in my camp bath at the back of the shack, when there was little one could do on such occasions without loss of dignity, other than bidding the bright eye at the matting wall to look on and that there was no extra charge!

Still more astounding was the terror sometimes caused in the rustic breast by one's arrival. In remote villages my mild and placid features have set all the women running and sometimes small boys shouting, *"Hé, bo la by,"* (Hey, the European has come) would climb trees from which they would gaze down with awe and apprehension. I suppose we must look monstrous to the rustic eye and apparently we all look very much alike, for several times when I have asked a village Burman to describe a European who had been to a village before me, in order to establish his identity, he has replied, "Oh, just a European, rather tall (or rather stout) with a red face and a long nose,"—and then someone else has added, "Very much to be feared," and of course the identification has been complete. And if we thought some of their old men looked as if they should be in trees, they on the other hand thought that our true element was the water, for they likened us to fish, with our rather protruding eyes, unlike the inset Mongolian eyes, and our rather protruding ears, perhaps somewhat like fins. And indeed once I was alluded to in a public speech by a rising demagogue as "the fish-faced D. C." As there are few things I like doing better than fishing (I write this by the side of a trout stream in Kashmir), I felt that this was indeed high praise, and when I subsequently met the speaker and told him this,

he first looked uncomprehending, then rather shocked, then he smiled—and next day came and apologized.

LAND OF LAUGHTER

Above all things, Burma was a land of laughter. One seems to miss it rather here in India. But in Burma one heard people laughing everywhere, in the village houses, under the village trees, outside the courts, most of all at the theatrical performances. They seemed to have unlimited time for just sitting, laughing and drinking tea. They laughed at everything—at anything unusual in the way of dress or speech or mannerism, at a fall, or at the village loony, to whom they referred as slightly dotty or just plain cracked without the slightest compunction or pity, though often he was not half so mad as those who call themselves sane. But he didn't seem to mind. Laugh and the Burman laughed with you. Sometimes a rather sticky village could be brought into a most amenable frame of mind by the making of some ridiculous remark which happened to strike their fancy. Even in their worst moments there was sometimes a spark of humour. The first murder case I ever committed to Sessions has always stuck in my memory. It was the murder of an unpleasant townsman who got drunk in a village house, and then began bragging about his wide acres (about ten probably and heavily mortgaged at that), calling the others coolies and country bumpkins. They bore a good deal of this, occasionally making such wise cracks as "Jumping dog fleas raise no dust" and the like. Finally he became very offensive, and challenged anyone to hit him on the head with a bottle off the table, if they had any guts. Even so, the two accused managed to keep

their tempers, and when they left the house, the others thought they had gone home. Instead of this, they lay up for Mr. Blowhard outside the village under a shady tree and, as he went rolling home, beat his head in, not with a bottle, but with a rice-pounder.

AND EXTRAVAGANCE

The trouble with the Burman was that he did most things to excess. If he drank, he usually got sozzled and then either made an ass of himself or went out looking for blood. Even amongst the educated classes, if it was said of a man that he drank, it usually meant that he drank too much. So I conclude that all these years seeing my bottles of whisky and gin in a thousand camps, they must have set me down as a boozer. Not that their heads are very weak, though I doubt if they have the capacity of the Chinese, but country spirit is very raw, not much better than some trade brands of Indian spirit, which are little better than kerosene. But I have seen a clown at a *pwè* take down a full glass of mixed whisky, gin and vermouth, shake his head a bit and then go on dancing quite happily. The same with opium. The Chinese seem to thrive on it, and so do the Burma Hill Tribes. The Burman does not consume so much as the Chinese, usually two annas 'weight a day as compared with the four annas' of the Chinaman, but he doesn't seem to stand it in the same way and often goes all to pieces and frequently owns the worst house in the village, an impoverished-looking shack with little but a couple of torn mats and a few broken pots. Yet elephant men and others who work in the forests seem to thrive on it, so it may be the quality of the stuff rather than the quantity, for the illicit con-

sumer usually gets nothing more than *beinchi* or the dregs of what others have consumed. But whatever sort of opium and whatever the amount consumed, the Burman consumer is usually declassed in Burmese opinion. Nor could he ever keep his money. The Indian, so far as one can see, rarely parts with it. He hoards for the sake of hoarding. The Chinese seems to hit the happy mean between the prodigality of the Burman and the penuriousness of the Indian. The Burman loved dress and good food and entertaining. He certainly got some fun out of his money but it didn't last long. It soon found its way into the pockets of the foreigners. There were few rich Burmans and still fewer Burmese commercial undertakings of stability. Though he invested in jewellery and sometimes had his savings locked up in a safe or in a bamboo joint in the rafters, he rarely saved much. His love of display, the call of religious responsibilities and his teeming relations saw to that. Whatever the religious implications may mean, it was scarcely common sense for a Government official to spend on his son's initiation into a monastery or his daughter's ear-boring ceremony two-thirds of his year's salary. It always amused me at a Burmese tea-party to be given, not a cup of tea, but two cups of tea at the same time. But probably we do not know the meaning of true hospitality as it is known in Burma.

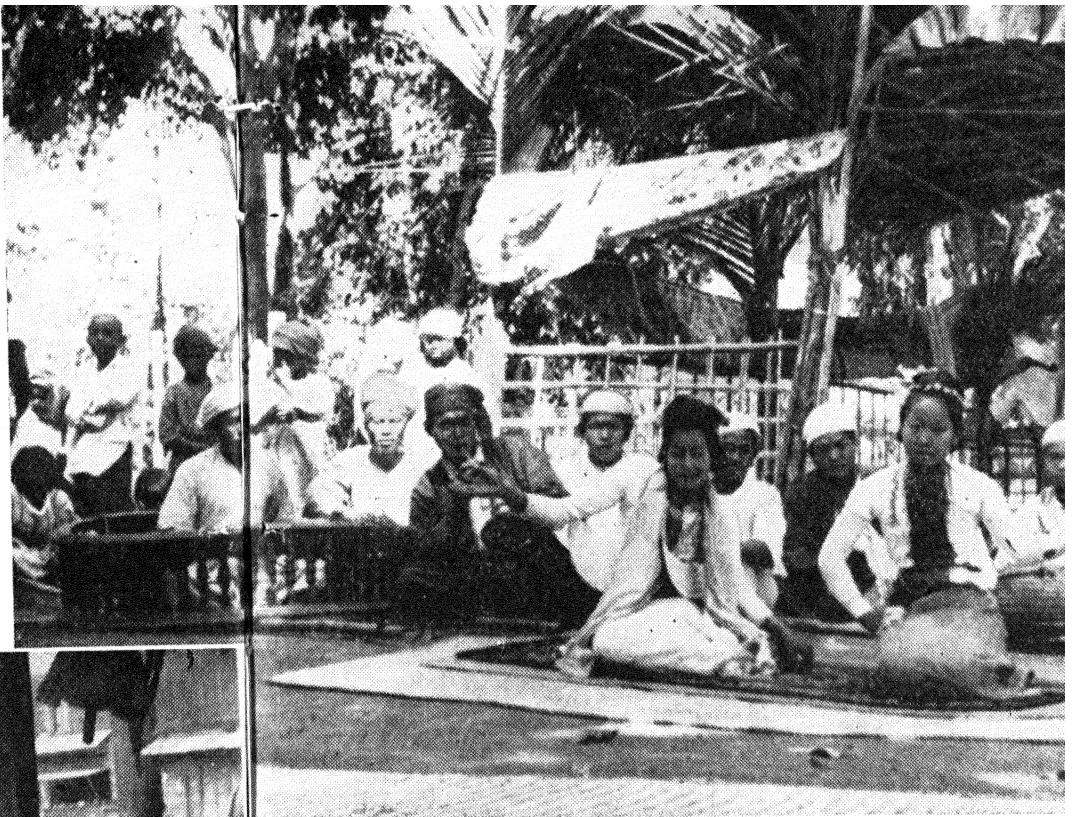
THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW!

"Th'bet-hka lok mè" (I will do it the day after tomorrow) must be the national slogan of Burma—but sooner that than *"Salaam, paisa"* which seems to be the motto of Kashmir, or *"Maximum pretium, minima qualitas"* or whatever may be the appropriate equivalent for most of

India. I am afraid that I shall never be persuaded that the Burman was anything but lazy—or shall we say, incapable of sustained effort, if his ardent admirers would prefer it that way? I don't blame him for not pulling rickshaws or emptying latrine buckets, if he could get some one else to do these jobs for him. But I do blame him for letting the Indian and the Chinese beat him so signally at trade and commerce. I blame him for hiring Oriya coolies to bund his lands or dig his irrigation canals, when he could easily do it himself. Compare Burmese haphazard methods of agriculture with Indian industry. In Kashmir, for instance, every rice field is weeded three times a year. The Burman never weeded his at all. Nor could be ever have bothered himself to build the excellent stone walls which one sees in India holding in diminutive fields of dry crops and thus saving erosion. He knew nothing about silage, and his manure was of the poorest quality because he could never take the trouble to let it stand in a pit and soak. I blame him too for allowing his house-compound to fill itself with weeds, when he could have grown vegetables instead of being compelled to buy them from itinerant Indian hawkers. To begin with, he started the day later than the Indian and the Chinaman, hogging it good and hard, whilst the foreigners were up and making money. How they slept, those Burmans! I remember once going to a *pwè* with my boy and when I had had enough at about midnight trying to find him. Eventually I found him fast asleep within five yards of the orchestra. O Blessed Morpheus! At Tharrawaddy three young Burmans tired after a night's fishing went to sleep on the Rangoon highway just in the lea of a blind humped bridge. Before



A WAYSIDE BAZAAR



A THEATRICAL TROUPE
WAITING TO GIVE AN
EVENING PERFORMANCE

going to sleep, as was disclosed at the inquest, they had discussed the dangers of sleeping on the highway and the possibility of being run over by a lorry, which actually proved to be the fate of the one nearest to the middle of the road. Not infrequently they slept on the railway line and thus passed to their next existence *via* painless decapitation. I often wondered whether there could be any other country in the world, where notices informing the public that sleeping on the permanent way is dangerous would not be greeted with mirthful sarcasm. They were usually late calling one in the morning, for they rarely went to bed early, preferring to sit up smoking and playing cards until the small hours. As durwans they were useless. How often I have shaken a Burman watchman of my hearth and home into dazed consciousness after dining out (sometimes, I fear, to the grave discomfort of his *leikpya*), but he has always protested that he was wideawake. This must be said to the Indian's credit that he had some idea of time and punctuality. The Burman, even after years of training, seemed to have surprisingly little. Nor did he understand our ideas of economy in time—of filling in the odd five minutes with a book or a bit of writing though it must be said that there were not many books available. Even most of the better educated, from our point of view at any rate, wasted time. I don't know whether we were after all much the better for our boundless activity.

"A poor life this if, full of care,
We have no time to stand and stare."

If one had to catch a train, the boys usually fidgeted about until in desperation one was forced to go and sit on the platform an hour or two before the arrival of the

train. I think our busy-mindedness and craving for constant physical or mental employment greatly mystified them. They could never, for instance, understand why one preferred to walk on tour rather than sit on a bullock cart. Cross-legged and more supple-limbed than ourselves, they obviously endured without discomfort what to us was a thoroughly bone-shaking experience. Nor could they understand why one hacked round the paddy-fields in the heat inspecting remission holdings when one could have seen a few sample plots near the village and then done the rest from an easy chair in the bungalow. Usually one started off accompanied by half the village newly-aroused from sleep and reasonably enthusiastic whilst the day was young, but by the time the sun was two toddy palms high, many of them had dropped off, including even those whose holdings had not been inspected, preferring to sit in the shade and trust that the Remission Officer would be gracious to them. I rather think that the proverb "Mad dogs, Englishmen and Indians walk in the noonday sun" originated in Burma but am not sure. "Don't you feel bored always reading, *Thakin*?" an old Burman once asked me as I sat reading a novel in an easy chair one night in camp. "Why don't you just sit and do nothing?"

HARD WORK?

Until more recent years, in Lower Burma at any rate, one saw little of the hard manual labour, other than that of agriculture, being done by Burmans. It was Indians who loaded and unloaded the paddy at the railway stations and mills, the Rangoon dock labour was almost entirely

Indian, and one rarely saw a Burman working on the roads. The slump years starting in 1931 and the ensuing Burman-Indian riots changed this to some extent, so that during recent years dock-labour was half Indian, half Burman. Burmese cooly gangs also appeared on the roads, but whereas the stolid unimaginative Oriya went on picking or shovelling away through the heat of the day, you would find the Burmans having a lay-off, drinking tea or sleeping. Incapable of prolonged application, he might work quite well for a week and on the eighth day find he must go and see his girl-friend. But why couldn't we have accepted the Burmese tempo instead of allowing the country to fill up with Indians who, no doubt, did at least one-third more work for one-third less pay? Hitched to the wagon wheel of India we suffered an injustice to the people of Burma. (What would the Welsh or Northumbrian miners have said, if we had imported several hundred thousand Bretons or Scandinavians because they were cheaper and could work longer hours?) We might have made a more contented land, at the expense of economy in time and a bigger pay roll. No doubt, the trains would have run less punctually, for the engine driver must have his tea before starting. And I would rather like to stop at a Burmese-run hotel. I expect that the meals would be irregular and late but they would have been real good ones when they arrived, and one would not have been pestered with rows of hotel servants hanging around for tips, some of them people whom one had never seen before, for the Burman would have been too lazy to hang around waiting at all. And one would not have been bothered much by rickshaw-wallahs and basket boys. The rickshaws would have got there just the same, per-

haps not quite so quickly but certainly with much less fuss and wrangling over fares.

MONEY?

For the Burman had not graven unto himself an image of the great god Paisa. He liked money, for who doesn't? But with him it was not the be-all and end-all. Many of his services on tour were entirely free and at times there was no little embarrassment in making him accept payment. It may be thus in the rural parts of India, for all one knows, but in the towns money seems to be the only thing that counts. If the Burman did a job for you, he tried, I think, to do it well. He took a pride in his workmanship and though he was often capable of turning out shoddy stuff and demanding more than it was worth, in company with most of the world, he did not use his ingenuity to discover every possible means of cutting down the cost of production at the expense of quality. I don't think he would skimp a nail here, or put in a rotten plank there or save a pice-worth of thread in sewing the buttons on your new coat. He was probably not a very good workman, and the variety of things which he had learned to make was very limited, but, as things go out East, he was a fairly honest workman and liked to turn out decent stuff.

CREATIVE HANDS

With bamboo and cane he was an artist, as also with silver, ivory and wood. He had a fine sense of line and colour. The old-style religious buildings were really beautiful—but the new-style *taik kyaungs* were hideous. So were most of the Burmese towns, but they were not

Burmese in architecture and came from copying the West. He was a very handy man, with a gift for rough-and-ready mechanics and, when industrialism comes to Burmâ, should do very well indeed, for he was interested in anything mechanical. Give your boy the baby's perambulator to mend or the driver a faulty car to tinker with and he will generally make a good job of it. His methods may be unorthodox but the results are usually successful. The most commonplace mechanical instruments intrigued him —the sewing machine, the typewriter, the gramophone. Villagers have sat for hours and stolidly watched me typewriting. Even the children have tried to peer inside the sound-box of my gramophone to find the little man with the loud voice. But they thought little of the early wireless sets. As a villager once said to me, "Not nearly so good as a gramophone, too much confused noise." The fact that any kind of noise produced originated several thousand miles away left him quite unmoved.

MODESTY?

It was indeed difficult to surprise the Burman over anything or to get him to admit a lack of knowledge or experience. Modesty was not one of the Burman's virtues nor was it much admired, for it was taken to be diffidence or timidity. He thought little of the flower that was "born to blush unseen". He liked to see a great branch of flaring bouganvillaea, even if there was no water in the vase. He had no scruples about blowing his own trumpet, and would certainly have argued this to be much better than carrying it mute, because no one else would blow it for him. He thought nothing of recommending himself for the honours list. I remember well my astonish-

ment when one charitably-minded old Burman, who had deserved well of the State, suggested in perfect good faith that he should be made a knight. He was impressed by the swaggerer and the blowhard, and was not much of a judge of real worth. He was, in fact, full of self-conceit and, like most Asiatics, disliked admitting ignorance. I often thought in the old days that if an aeroplane had suddenly landed outside a Burmese village, every one of the younger villagers would have considered himself perfectly capable of taking it to bits or flying it.

THESE ENGLISH!

Probably we Europeans were mostly too unimpressive and unobtrusive for the Burmese temperament. He liked pomp and show for it had been handed down as the accompaniment of greatness. We wandered round the countryside in ragged shorts and sweaty shirts, looking very un-Wun like. "It couldn't have been the D.C.," someone once said of me after an incognito visit to his village, "his clothes were not good, he looked more like a Forest Officer." Frequently one noticed the difference in one's reception when one turned up alone or accompanied by a solitary guide, and when one's arrival was heralded by the appearance of a retinue of Headmen, or when one's kit turned up. "Ha ha," one could almost hear them think, "this is a big noise indeed, he has three cartfulls of kit, a boy, a cook, a peon and a clerk." Perhaps if we had toured in the true Burmese tradition, riding on gaily-caparisoned elephants, and flashing with jewels, demanding free provision here and a good fat whack of money there, we should have acted more in consonance with the Oriental notion of how authority

should present itself in public. Instead of this we toiled round the villages on foot, looking more like tramps—but it was great fun. But I can't forgive the European who turned up at Burmese entertainments looking like a hoboe —and there were many who did this. On such occasions and when the Burmans came to see us, they wore their best clothes, and the least we could have done was to pay them the compliment of wearing ours. By which I don't mean morning coats and top hats, which should be forbidden by law in the new Burma. But why couldn't we wear palm-beach or white duck and both look and feel comfortable? It was at one such durbar, attended by the D.C. in a frock coat green with age that might have been worn by the driver of a west-end growler in the 90's, that I overheard one Burman say to another, "The English look just like black crows ;"—and indeed we must in those assemblages of humming birds and peacocks.

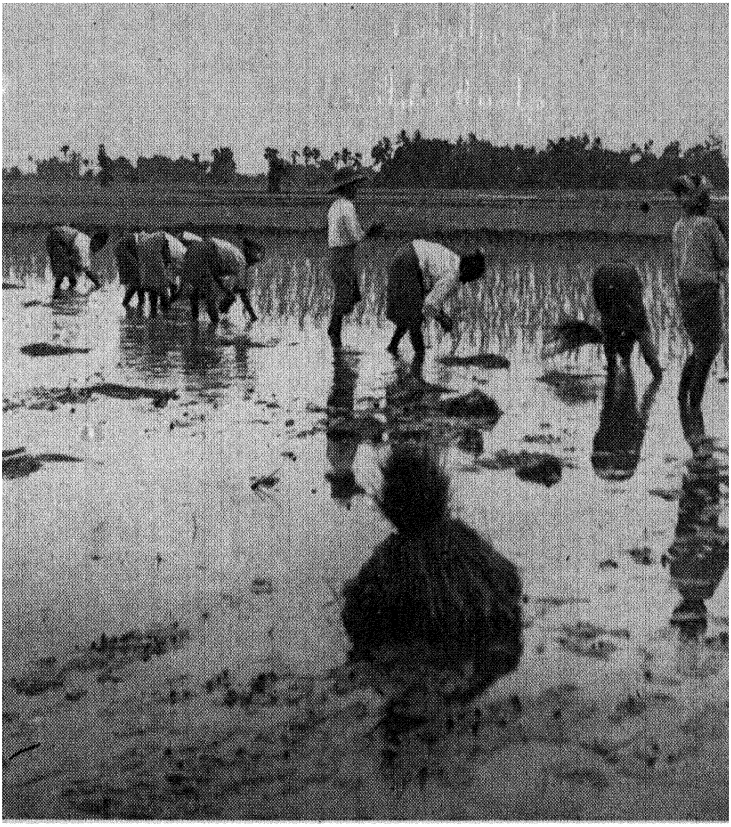
Was there ever anything more colourful than a Burmese crowd at a pagoda festival or *pongyi-byan* (monk's funeral)? The brilliant gold of the pagoda soaring to the brightest of blue skies, the huge multi-coloured paper and bamboo animals and human figures towering above the concourse below, gay in their silk and cotton clothes, the *longyis* and *gaungbaungs* of pink and blue and crimson and green and gold, the white muslin jackets coquettishly displaying the brown skin and the neatest of little cambric bodices, the bangles and necklaces, the flowers worn in the hair, the laughter and light-heartedness. There was, as Archdeacon Appleton has remarked, little visible sign of the Buddhist tenet "All is suffering".* One misses the

* See BURMA PAMPHLET NO. 3, *Buddhism in Burma*.

colour here in Northern India—the bright and attractive dress of the indigenous peoples of Burma. If only Kashmir were peopled by the Burmese with their gay colours or by the Shans with their wide hats and flapping trousers or by the Kachins in their attractive black and white! Here in Kashmir, reputed to be one of the beauty spots of the world, it is difficult to imagine a more uncomely style of dress worn by a people which undoubtedly has marked artistic genius. Indo-China was much like Burma but without the colour. Japan was colourful but too much like a formal garden for true rustic beauty.

THE EASY-GOING SOUTH

A pleasant land it was in the old days—will it ever be the same again? It was of all places that one could imagine a land where it seemed always 3 o'clock on Saturday afternoon. In those remote villages where nothing except an occasional fight or petty theft or a long-forgotten murder had happened in the space of a couple of generations to break the rural peace, with the *o-aw* bird whistling monotonously through the hot April days and the looms lazily clacking in the village houses, the centuries "seemed to blend and blur" at Nyaungbingyi. Was it a wonder that things took their own time and that the administration was a leisurely affair? *Th' bet-hka lok mè.* "Put up when I next go that side on the 15th of next month" . . . and so on. Of course he never went, and someone had to wait another month for his piece of land or the settlement of an affair with his next-door neighbour who had referred to his relations with somewhat startling crudity. Generations of ancestors eating heavy rice and curry in a climate which for most



WOMEN TRANSPLANTING RICE

of the year made one sweat from morning to night—the conditions were not such as inspired much craving for physical or mental effort. Moreover the abundant Lower Burma rain, falling with unfailing regularity from mid-May till October, produced crops without the need for much energy on the part of the cultivator.

THE HAND-TO-MOUTH NORTH

In most of Upper Burma it was a different story. There the population lived often a hand-to-mouth existence, especially in the zone of scantiest rainfall. The lean starved cattle, the withered fields of millet and sesamum, the exodus of families in search of work in other districts—all these were part and parcel of the common lot. Man wrested a hard living out of his stony uplands and often saw his plants wither within a few days of broadcasting. The women, who worked as hard as the men, grew old before their time. The children went sore-eyed and were rarely washed. But for all that it was a land with less seeming plenteousness, the men worked what they owned themselves or else shared the produce equally with a neighbour. There the big absentee landlord, whose connection with his land was usually confined to collecting the rent and paying the revenue, had still as yet barely penetrated, and if a man did not see much return for his labour, he could at least call his land his own. Those little paddy holdings, carved out of the fringes of the jungle, with the lush growth of the jungle all round, swooped over by clouds of green paroquets and at night marauded by pig and elephant, each with its own little homestead, with the family living on the land during the cultivating season and supported by it, handed down from

father to son, and the village in which the agriculturist passed his lifetime and was not forced to be a wanderer in search of a tenancy—these seemed to be typical of the real Burma rather than the wide acres of Lower Burma, where the acquisition of wealth, the passing of lands from the agriculturist to the alien landlord and the opening of commercial competition had brought so much distress and unrest.

THE NOT SO NICE TOWNSFOLK

Sometimes sitting in some such little paddy clearing with two or three cultivators idly chatting about crops and birds and beasts, it was difficult to believe that so recently one had seen such stormy days. It was indeed hard to believe that U Shwe Hlaing who had accompanied me so many days from dawn to dusk tracking elephant and bison, who seemed to be able to follow an animal over bare rock and could keep going 20 miles a day in spite of his 60 years, or old U Tun jogging along behind with his gammy leg, could belong to the same people which had planned the horrors of the rebellion or the anti-Mahommedan riots. It was in the neighbouring towns and among their cousins the townsfolk that all evil originated—the sedition and the strikes, the riots and the massacres and the *Th'kins*. In the towns one saw even more people sitting doing nothing than in the villages, but it was the idleness, not of content but of boredom. Attired like Solomon in all his glory many of the young townsfolk had never worked. The son of the wealthy landlord had no conception of the dignity of labour. He would sooner sit in the teashops all day, pawning his clothes when he ran short of cash, than work as a bailiff

on his father's estate. The Chinese, who brought little good to Burma, ministered to his needs in the way of opium and cocaine. Thus idleness bred discontent—the corner boy, the dismissed Government servant, the B. A. without a job, the hanger-on at courts, the tout, the politically-minded priest, all of these battened on the credulity of the rustic mind. Oh Democracy, what sorrows followed in thy wake! These were the folk that used democracy for their own ends, who in the 1930 rebellion incited plough boys waving *dahs* and charmed handkerchiefs to charge against Lewis guns, or got them shot whilst looting the bazaars. Meanwhile the agitators themselves, always ready to clap their forearms if the endeavour succeeded, sedulously avoided all the dangers.

The wantonness and cruelty and stupidity of those days pass all belief. The superstition and brutalities of the rebellion, the looting and arson, the riots, the school strikes, the demonstration marches—during the last decade or so all these turned Burma into a land of constant disturbance and disaffection. But it was never the real people of the country who caused the trouble. Saya San, the rebel leader of 1930-32, was a quack doctor from the town. The riots were inspired in the towns which contained all the worst elements of the country, the money-making corrupt Municipal Committees, the District Councils who squandered the people's money, the tea-shop ne'er-do-weels and the mock priests who broke the rules of the *Vinaya* by ogling the girls and forcing their way into the cinemas and theatrical performances. But these were not typical of Burma, any more than the Burma Independence Army of 1942. The Army saw the worst of the Burman in 1941-42. Sniped at by Burmese

irregulars or betrayed by Burman fifth columnists who had thrown in their lot with the Japanese, the military were apt to write off the whole Burmese nation as traitors. They did not come in touch with the best of the rural stock, because the decent village folk had fled from the terror that had come upon them. The sight of a khaki uniform set them speeding, not because they were hostile, but because they were afraid. Where they came into real contact with British Tommies they came to like them, and it is these people who will welcome us when we return.

NOT ALL JAM!

When one becomes reminiscent, one tries to forget the bad bits and remember only the good parts. It was like that after the last war and I suppose it will be the same after this one. One tried to forget the shelling and the filth and remembered chiefly the simple joys behind the lines, the gigantic stews in smoky billets, the mail days and the good fellowship and the *estaminet* across the way. So remembering Burma one will recall chiefly those peaceful days on tour, the jungle fowl shoots and days after big game, the evenings by camp fires amidst a friendly people, and will try to forget the incessant drudgery of office work, the riots and the strikes and the orders under the Criminal Procedure Code. So it will be with all of us. The Policeman will try to forget his disappointments in the struggle to keep down crime, to catch the criminal and hardest of all to get him into gaol. The Forest Officer will try to forget his worst days in malaria-infested swamps, when his boots and clothes went to pieces and his legs were covered with mud-sores and

leeches. Nor was it all jam for the Civil Officer. In some districts he had the feeling of sitting on the edge of a volcano and that any day things might blow up and a crowd of hooligans come surging into the civil station to loot and burn and kill. He had his worries with the politician who often did his best to embarrass the administration for his purely selfish ends. He waged an almost ceaseless struggle in getting revenue out of recalcitrant villagers. The crime figures, in spite of all that the Police and he could do, made sorry reading. The crops failed and he had to find immediate work for several thousand people or else see them starve. Even the best and most law-abiding of the villagers were not *Yahandas* (saints). They worried him with false or anonymous petitions, they quarrelled one village with another, they formed factions over religious squabbles, they lied like the very devil when it came to remission applications, and they were difficult to influence in the way one wished. One started things to help them and encountered stolid apathy and indifference. One battled day after day with graft and corruption. Sometimes one wondered whether the battle was worth while, and now it will have to be started all over again when we have ousted the Japs, before we can hand over the country to its own devices. This very consideration makes people sometimes think that the game is not worth the candle, especially those who have no stake in the country, who never knew it as it was and who have but an academic interest in its future. Some of us would like to see the old form of rule established for a generation believing that this form of administration with all its faults was best for the nation at large. Others see the country's true happiness in a benevolent autocracy

or a constitutional democracy of its own people. Whatever may be the solution, we owe it to the people of Burma to rid them of the Japs, for the history of the conquered peoples of Formosa, Korea and Manchukuo shows that they have suffered much from exploitation and racial discrimination. Moreover, Burma is but a portion of the whole Eastern problem which in various ways has long been asking for satisfaction. But enough of politics and ideologies. So much has been written in this vein of recent years and there is little one can contribute to the lengthening screed.

FRIENDLY HOSPITALITY

What was there in the Burma of other days that made life so pleasant to the District Officer? It is the fashion nowadays to recite the Burman's faults rather than his virtues. On the credit side he had much which endeared him to our affection. Above all things he was hospitable and generous and good-mannered. Every house in the village was open to one on tour. The best that the village could offer in the way of food or furniture was always readily available. One never lacked fruit or eggs or flowers. One Christmas time I had 17 cakes! No doubt, some of his presents were given with the expectation of a quid pro quo, for the Burman is a diplomat and a schemer. It was annoying, for example, to receive a large bunch of bananas from a Headman or for one's wife to be presented with a parasol, and then be asked for a revolver license. But many of the gifts had no ulterior purpose, and some of us had Burman friends who kept in touch with us for years by letter and who sometimes came long distances to see us. On tour we were always

impressed by the gentility of the villagers, who were, to use a rather awful phrase, "nature's gentlemen"—for I do not think they learnt much about manners at the monasteries and the primary secular schools.

MONKS AND MONASTERIES

Though perhaps they did not follow the precepts of their religion more closely than those of other faiths, the observances of their religion played a large part in their lives. The festivals which marked the beginning and end of Buddhist Lent will always be remembered as high days of national expression—the pouring of the emblematic water at Thingyan (New Year) and the lights of Thadingyut (end of Lent). Who will ever forget the illuminations in the towns or the floating lanterns on the Irrawaddy? Though perhaps few of them observed the laws concerning fasting or attended the pagodas regularly to say their prayers, they gave of their best to the Monastic Order. Every large village had its monastery, not a few had more than one, and many of the tiny hamlets had a *tawya kyaung*. The priests lacked nothing that the villagers could give them. Even the poorest donated their portion to the daily begging bowl. At the various phases of the moon and at the time of the annual religious festivals, many of the elders and a large percentage of the women attended the local monastery and the *pongyis* were fed with liberality, often receiving in addition presents of umbrellas, robes, begging bowls and towels. Though it was often difficult to persuade a village to give any of its land for a public purpose, land for the erection of a pagoda, a monastery or a *thein* was always generously given. The *kyaungs* were kept in the best repair and

were sometimes very well furnished. The priests seemed to have a *penchant* for clocks, and I remember once counting six in a single monastery. The rule forbidding footwear was strictly observed in most *kyaungs,* yet many monks have invited me into their *kyaungs,* shoes and all. The *pongyi,* however, was not so particular when entering a layman's house, and rarely removed his sandals, but this was not, I think, intended as a mark of disrespect, for he did not remove them when entering village houses or indeed when attending court.

By the Army, I think, the *pongyi* was almost always distrusted. The sight of a yellow robe was anathema. A shaven head is not inducive to good looks. Cut off your own hair and see for yourself. But don't imagine that the bulk of the *pongyis* were anti-British or pro-Japanese, for nothing could be further from the truth. The mass of the priesthood of Burma were a religious body obeying the rules of their Order, whose horizons were bounded by the daily prayers, the instruction of the village boys in a very limited educational curriculum, the observance of feast and fast days and the performance of the rites of burial. On tour one was frequently welcomed into their *kyaungs,* and I have made many a pleasant camp as the guest of the monks. They had the greatest influence over the people. In times of stress they preached peace and proved over and over again one of the most powerful influences for good. For that reason alone, if for no other, it was worth while endeavouring to secure their esteem and co-operation. They had their faults, even the best of them—unlimited obeisance from their adherents made them at times adopt an attitude of superiority, which the European, being apparently regarded as a small brother,



THE FUNERAL OF A MONK IS A FESTIVE OCCASION, FOR THE GOOD MAN HAS ATTAINED NIRVANA AND WILL RETURN TO EARTH NO MORE



VILLAGERS IMPROVISE A FERRY ACROSS A SWOLLEN STREAM

sometimes found tiresome. It was annoying too at times to come back from office after a hard day's work to find a *pongyi* in the drawing room who was prepared to sit and talk about some village matter of quite minor importance during the precious hours that one wished to devote to exercise. But it was often well worth while to practise patience and let the venerable tongue flow on. Your treatment of him was sure to be discussed in the village, perhaps in the whole neighbourhood, if he was influential. Visitors to the house were discouraged wholesale by some officers, which I always thought was a mistake. Though they sometimes tended to be a nuisance, they brought information to your house which they would not take to the publicity of the Court House. If their business was merely a matter of routine, and they were obviously just trying to secure a private audience for their own ends or to get an oar in first, they could always be referred to court. If they didn't come, you knew pretty well it was a wangle.

FEAR OF SPIRITS

Superstition played a large part in the people's lives, as Archdeacon Appleton has shown in his recent booklet on Buddhism. The propitiation of the *Nats* or Spirits was practised side by side with Buddhism. The Buddhist saw nothing inconsistent in the *Bawdi-nyaung,* the Sacred Tree of the Enlightenment, its lower branches propped by the bamboos placed by pious wayfarers, and the *nyaung-gyat* not far away around whose gigantic bole they placed their humble offerings of eggs and rice and lighted candles and pots with red and white streamers in honour of the village guardian spirit. They were afraid of ghosts and few

would willingly pass a cemetery at night, and those who had to, quickened their paces and whistled or sang lustily to fend off the evil spirits. They believed in witches and a whole phantasmagoria of dread beings who haunted certain paths or groups of shady trees—*sōns, gyats* and *yokasos* and others. Nearly every house had its cocoanut suspended from the eaves in honour of Nat Tinde the Blacksmith. The old shikari folk, some of the best types one met in Burma, would always offer an egg, some rice or a banana to the Forest *Nat,* when they had reached the ground from which tracking the big game began, and the rifle and ammunition must be laid before the offering and a prayer said before starting the day's work. Yet sometimes on the return journey, they would consume the offering themselves! The eerie silence of those vast forests covering the tumbled hills of Burma always filled one with awe, so that naturally one dropped one's voice, as though the spirits were at hand. For man felt very small indeed where the only paths were made by the great beasts.

TOWNSHIP OFFICERS

Some of the best men in Burma (we thought so, anyway) were the Subdivisional and Township Officers—particularly the latter, for they were probably the hardest worked and were nearest in contact with the people. So if you meet a Myo-ok, treat him with due regard to his position which, though not well paid, is an honourable one, and don't call him a *Myouk* (monkey) for the humour of this will not appeal so strongly to him as to you. The best of the Myo-oks were the salt of Burma and there were many of them. They did most of the heavy work of the

administration, collecting several lakhs of revenue every year by the sweat of their brow from house to house, receiving and paying out money, trying scores of criminal cases every year, chasing dacoits, sitting on local committees, being at the constant beck and call of their superiors and the people. So if you find a Myo-ok rather tired and distrait, don't write him down as incompetent or uninterested. He has probably got living with him in a small rented house besides his wife and four children, his mother-in-law, an old uncle and one or two cousins, and very likely he has been sitting up till after midnight writing judgments for tomorrow's court, and then just when he wanted to get to sleep, one of the children has kept him awake howling with the stomach ache. The birth of too many children was probably one of the causes of corruption. Government servants wanted their sons to have Anglo-Vernacular educations and often the daughters required dowries—neither of these was mandatory, but they were customary. Few Burmans had ever heard of Marie Stopes and it is doubtful whether birth-control would have been countenanced by their religion. I once had a stenographer aged 33 on a salary of about Rs. 100 who had nine children.

WOMEN

The women played a very definite part in the affairs of the country. There was no purdah. The Burmese woman went everywhere, but there was a code of behaviour which she must obey, and a woman who pushed herself forward too readily might be reminded of the adage "A good dog keeps his tail tucked in, a good woman keeps in the background". Though she often ate with

her husband, it was also customary for her to take her meal afterwards, and before tasting any food herself she must see that her guests were satisfied. She must not seat herself higher than her husband, and I suppose that t would be highly irregular for a Burman woman to occupy the upper berth on a train or ship, if her husband were underneath. Men also avoided walking or stooping under womens' clothes hung up to dry, for such things were supposed to make the men subservient to the women. Many of them excelled in business, though here again it was often customary for the husband to do the bargaining, whereas the wife stayed in the background and did the checking up. In several districts I have met successful women Headmen. There were one or two women Members of the House of Representatives. During later years they were taking to the Bar, to Medicine and a number of other professions with distinction. On the agricultural side they helped the men folk considerably. They did nearly all the planting as well as half the reaping, assisted with threshing and winnowing and where the rice was eaten unpolished did all the home-pounding as well. Eaten thus it is far more nutritious, for whatever vitamin content there is (not, I believe, very high) is contained in the outer covering of the grain. But there were certain things they never did. For example, I have never seen a woman pulling seedlings, though whether this was because the work was specially exhausting or because female modesty prevented them from tucking up their skirts and knocking the mud off against their legs, I do not know. In villages where there was weaving, they made most of the *longyis* and blankets. They also made pottery and rolled cheroots and some of them made

ngapi, the dark grey fish paste which every Burman likes to eat with his rice, even if nothing else is forthcoming. Many of the stall-sellers in the bazaar were women and very shrewd they were too, with a ready repartee if anyone got fresh or tried to beat them down too much. In the old days some of the officers' wives ran stalls in the bazaars, and this was not considered demeaning for in some ways it was a democratically-minded country. The Zegyo stall-girls at Mandalay were famous for their good looks. Though not often strikingly good-looking, the Burmese woman had charm and poise. She wore her clothes well, had a flair for colour and was fond of admiration, like most women, and liked a naughty story. She was in fact a very attractive little person and a natural coquette. But many of the urban roses had sharp thorns, so let young Lothario be careful. The Burman considering such maladies as the inevitable fate of male youth called them "young mens' disease" and thought little more of them than of a cold in the head.

CHILDREN

The Burmans were fond of children and had a strong attachment to kinship. Probably this was one of the reasons why it was so difficult to obtain recruits for the Burma regiments, for they were very parochial in their outlook. One frequently met Burmans who had never visited villages not more than 5 miles away from their own, for if their journeys to court or to the bazaar or railway station lay in the opposite direction, there was, as they said, no call for them to go elsewhere. Burmese children were extremely attractive, most of them to look at and many of them to know. They were very self-

possessed, did household jobs, nursed their younger brothers and sisters, grazed the cattle and sometimes smoked cheroots when scarcely out of their babyhood. They were brought up extremely toughly and it was certainly a case of survival of the fittest, for infantile mortality was appalling, amounting to an average of about 300 deaths in 1000 births before the age of one year, in spite of all that the welfare centres and clinics could do for them. They were often suckled at the breast till they were well over a year old, but were given chewed rice to eat only a week or two after birth. This was supposed to toughen them. When a man reached 40 years of age, he was supposed to drink a pint of milk, for it was believed that by that time the virtue of his mother's milk had gone out of him. I well remember my 40th birthday ; I was in camp in a little copse near Lemyethna Henzada and I duly drank a pint of milk—unboiled, I fear. Charming children as they were, they often grew up spoiled because their parents and teachers spared the rod. There was little caning at the schools, for Burmese opinion was opposed to it. Hence some of them grew up little tyrants in the home, joined in school-strikes against the wishes of their parents and were thoroughly objectionable. Did ever the administration of any country look so foolish as Burma during the school-strikes of the last few years, when mobs of undisciplined school children picketed the gates of the schools, and were not allowed to be touched by the hand of authority?

ATTITUDE TO ANIMALS

The Burmese were fond of animals but they did not always treat them very kindly. Though they carefully

tended their plough bullocks, their cows were left to shift for themselves, possibly because they could not afford the time or money to stall-feed them, but also because they set little value on cow's milk. In a village owning several hundred head of cattle it was common to find that what little milk was drunk was tinned milk. In some villages they did not appear to know how to get the milk out of the cow. There was practically no stock-breeding, and the young bulls ran riot in the mixed herds and reproduced their species before they had reached full maturity. The curse of the Indian cattle in Burma has been discussed in almost every work on agriculture and veterinary administration. The half-breeds multiplied exceedingly, so that in some areas it was difficult to find a pure-bred Burmese animal. Long loose-limbed creatures with pendulous sheaths and dewlaps, they could not stand up to the ploughing in the same way as the Burmese stock. Yet there was no public outcry against this, the Indian stock continued to intermingle with and contaminate the indigenous animals and got free grazing, often to the detriment of the Burmans' crops and paddy nurseries. Non-agricultural cattle and immature bulls should quite obviously, in the cultivators' own interests, be taxed.

Burma produced some good ponies, particularly in Myingyan and other districts of the Dry Zone, but most of the village ponies were never groomed, and the tonga ponies were shamefully overdriven and overburdened. As in other countries, a dog was a symbol of contempt, and though many of them were fond of their dogs, particularly good husky watch dogs or dogs used for hunting, they took little or no care of them. Every bitch produced a litter of pups every December or thereabouts, so that the

canine population of the villages was probably as large as the human population. No pup was ever destroyed for this was contrary to the Buddhist religion, with the result that scavengers abounded, a good thing from that point of view, but a perfect menace from others, rendering the night hideous with their barking and yelping, breaking into kitchens and outhouses and making themselves a general nuisance. Considering that they rarely got anything to eat besides rice water or the residue of rice and what they could pick up for themselves, many of them were remarkably fine dogs and when decently treated extremely affectionate. *Pongyi Kyaung* dogs were usually castrated to prevent their wandering. Dogs whose ears were clipped were believed to be protected against rabies. Poultry they treated with the neglect and needless cruelty practised almost everywhere in the East.

Though many Burmans strictly obeyed the Buddhist precept forbidding the taking of any kind of life, they were usually tolerant of other people's actions in this respect. Thus many, who would on principle refrain from killing animals, would eat their flesh if others had done the killing. They saw nothing inconsistent in this. To be consistent they should have been vegetarians. At times some quasi-religious body or a group of monks would start an anti-beef campaign, but the mass of the people were apathetic. Suffering they considered to be inevitable in one form or another, so they would rather see an animal in pain than put it out of its misery. I remember once finding a cow which had been badly mauled by a tiger and could not rise. They were feeding it with grass but of course it died. One day I discovered a devout Buddhist carefully transferring a Russell's viper on the end of a cleft

stick from his own paddy holding to someone else's. I was glad to be able to show him that I suffered from no Buddhist scruples as far as vipers were concerned. In Katha, when there was a bad outbreak of plague in the town, the pious-minded used to release the rats from the traps supplied by Government. The cruelty which they often inflicted was not, I think, intentional but was due to a certain callousness over the sufferings of others.

LIFE AND DEATH

Familiarity with death had probably a good deal to do with this callousness. To them birth and death held no mysteries. In their close-quartered life the operations of the midwife must have been a matter of common knowledge. Everyone knew when a new baby was born and when old U Pu ceased one day to be seen in the village street, down which he had walked for 70 years, his body could be seen by anybody who cared to enter the little house in which he had passed his life. It was all very different from our rather cloistered Western existence. The prevalence of murder must have been an attributory cause. For the last decade the number of murders committed in Burma has averaged from 800 to 1200 annually, a very high incidence in a population of about 15 million if compared, say, with that of the United Kingdom with a population 3 times that number. Of these unfortunately a large percentage went undetected chiefly on account of the lack of public opinion, and a very much larger percentage escaped unpunished, for the cumbrousness of the legal procedure set heavy odds on the prisoner's eventual acquittal.

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

They were in many ways a very inconsistent people. Though easy-going by nature, they were quick to anger, and many a murder was committed after an altercation concerning some trifling disagreement. Though frequently timid in the face of aggression by dacoits or robbers, whom they could easily have defeated by stout co-operation, the same people would attack a tiger with spears or dahs. Though at times they could be exceedingly revengeful, they were sometimes amazingly tolerant. The released murderer would return to his village and resettle in the same house next door to that of the neighbour he had murdered. Though the politically-minded were most vociferous in their profession of patriotism, I do not think that many of them were truly patriotic. For the claims of party advancement meant more to them than the good of the country at large. Though fond of and good at games, it was difficult to get them to play fairly. Fights on the football field were of common occurrence and when the spectators joined in with sticks and umbrellas a regular *mêlée* ensued. At Minhla in the Tharrawaddy District one of the spectators was fatally knifed, but no evidence was forthcoming. Wasn't the deceased making an infernal nuisance of himself by whirling a bag containing bottles of liquor round his head at all and sundry, anyway? Though democratically-minded in many ways, they thought actors and actresses persons of a definitely lower order. Though cleanly in their personal habits, they were indifferent about the cleanliness of their houses and cooking apparatus. They were a mixture of great kindness and extreme brutality. Though tolerant of others' misdoings so long as they were not affected themselves, they squealed like

anything when their personal convenience was concerned. They seemed to be impervious to some of the most revolting smells but had a rooted aversion to the odour of frying fat, which they considered might prove fatal to sick or weak persons. I remember a woman once filing a direct complaint for murder against a neighbour who was alleged to have killed the complainant's child by frying fish across the village street. In spite of their naturally sedentary habits and love of food, they were capable of walking great distances without apparent fatigue and without food.

Like all Orientals they were very prone to flattery. They loved grandiloquent speeches. They spoke well in public without a trace of nervousness. I often thought how fluent they were compared with our halting orators. Burmese indeed with its rolling cadences and Pali words is a grand language in which to make a speech. Like most Orientals, they used their hands whilst speaking—we usually put ours in our pockets. Speech-making had a great attraction for them. They would probably become ardent wireless fans. They attended the courts because they liked listening to the evidence and the cross-examination. They were also extremely litigious, but this may have been our fault. In the old days when there were few courts and fewer pleaders they settled their quarrels by themselves. Ordeal by immersion was not unknown—the one who remained under water longest was the winner. They wasted money over litigation in the most amazing manner. Two small boys pulled each other's noses and there was a criminal complaint. One dear old Headman of my acquaintance wasted something like Rs. 3,000 on litigation lasting 2 years over a diminutive piece of land worth about one-hundredth of that sum ; when I left the

district the case had reached the High Court, and he was journeying to Rangoon with regularity about once a month and apparently enjoying it all tremendously.

DANCING AND HUMOUR

They were fond of colour, flowers and music. Music was a passion with them—from the fluting of the cowherd under the tamarind tree to the *khit thit* (new style) songs set to piano or banjo, many of them adaptations of Western music. They loved theatrical performances in which dancing played a very large part. Their dancing was of a high order, and they had the most beautiful hands, which they used with the greatest possible effect. An amazing sight was the Burmese theatrical performance —with the impromptu stage made of rough boards all different lengths jutting into the orchestra, the vivid drop-curtain, the actresses making up on the stage, and the audience in serried ranks, men, women and tiny children squatting on their carpets below. When the Wuns came out and started a dull monotonous introductory monologue most of the audience just went to sleep but when the Prince and the Princess danced and the funny men appeared, everyone was very much awake and they went on enjoying it till daybreak. The clowns were really funny. They had a great gift of mimicry and satire—the pompous man, the mean man, the timid man, the vain man, the gullible man, the flirt, the prince and the pauper, the hermit, the nun, the Englishman, the Chinese and the Indian—particularly the Indian—all came in for their well-meaning ridicule. The Englishman's drawl, his mis-pronunciation of Burmese, his walking stick, his topee, his double terai were all ridiculed and if there was an

Englishman in the audience it was all the better fun. The "Merry Widow" waltz was a favourite and a clown giving his own rendering of some such ancient hit as "My Girl's a Yorkshire Girl" would usually bring the house down, though they had not the slightest idea of the meaning. The Indian was always a subject of amusement. The rather static jingling dances of the Indian nautch girl, the Indian's greed for money and his penuriousness, the scantiness of his attire, his unintelligible caste-marks and his peculiar pronunciation of Burmese—all these were fair game and greeted with roars of laughter. The humour of the funny men was of the slap-stick grimacing order, and much of it was intensely laughable. Their jokes were often so broad that Aristophanes might have blushed, yet the village maidens apparently enjoyed them with great relish, seeing which the Princess would playfully admonish them with her fan. Yet it is doubtful whether they would have appreciated to a great extent our own broad stories, and when an acquaintance of mine once lent some of his for the evening, they were received with polite attention but little hilarity. But the actresses must be most decorously attired. No striptease on the Burmese stage. The Burmese actress lengthened her skirt when she danced. A Burmese audience would, I think, have considered our semi-nude performances immodest. Much of the patter depended for its humour on the use of puns, easy in a tonal language.

A LANGUAGE OF PITFALLS

Burmese was indeed an exceedingly easy language in which to make oneself misunderstood. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that the Burmese for "delighted" and

"diarrhœa" are much the same (at least to the unversed European), but it certainly added to the humour of a rather boring public meeting when the Chairman referred to the state of his stomach, when endeavouring to express his pleasure at introducing the first and Most Honourable speaker. And the S. D. O., who at the entertainment given on his transfer mounted the platform with the intention of thanking the charming young lady who had presented him with a bunch of flowers and then in his best Talaing expressed the desire to spend the night with her, was a distinct success. Little incidents like these help to alleviate the monotony of everyday life but they do not make us easily understood. Still it is no good shouting or getting into a temper, protesting that your interlocutor is a congenital idiot, for you are probably pronouncing a "monastery" as a "stream" or a "hill" as a "basket". It is really better to point at what you want or else think of a way round. It was humiliating, however, even after 20 years to find that one was apparently totally unintelligible to a Burman villager. I think that Myingyan must have been the Bæotia of Upper Burma, for I always had greater difficulties over the language there than elsewhere.

QUICK IN THE UPTAKE

Actually, they were an intelligent people and quick in the uptake. The facility with which the average cultivator could read a *kwin* map of agricultural land, which he had never seen before, always surprised me. When they misunderstood you, it was frequently because they had preconceived notions of what you meant to say and did not listen to the actual words. In many ways they

were one-track-minded and did not readily accept divergencies from the normal course. Thus if you wore a particular pair of shoes on Sundays, it would be exceedingly difficult to convince a Burman boy that for some particular reason on a particular Sunday you required a different pair of shoes. In 20 years I don't think I ever got a Burman boy to hang up a coat by the neck loop, nor could I ever persuade them that my wash-basin should not be filled so full of water that it slopped all over my nether regions when I washed. They had their own ways of doing things and it was extremely difficult to alter them. Probably this was due in some measure to standardization. For Burma is a country of standards. With minor variations, all Burmans speak the same language, they eat the same food in the same way, they have a standard dress and live in rather standardized surroundings. Thus a Burmese child would be in no quandary if you were to tell him to draw a horse, for (and I think the equestrian-minded will agree with me) most Burmese horses were much alike. The English child would have a choice varying from a Shire cart-horse to a Shetland pony. Nor when asked to draw a woman would there be any doubts in a Burman's mind as to whether he should depict her in a feather boa or a *decolleté* evening dress. Like most Orientals, they were more complex-minded than ourselves. "A primrose by the river's brim" was not just a yellow primrose to the Burmese mind, for if you admired it, or its Burmese equivalent, your ardent companions would immediately start tearing it up by the roots and all other neighbouring flowers as well, violently disturbing the landscape, in the belief that your idea was to surround yourself with them. To admire a lady's appearance certainly usually betokened

ulterior motives. Once during my early days I praised a Persian carpet in the house of an Indian friend. Five minutes later I found it in my car from which I had great difficulty in ousting it.

TRUTH?

Again like most Eastern peoples, the Burmese were extremely fond of their own opinions and were rarely at a loss to express them, unless they thought they would offend you or if they were at variance with what they thought you wished them to say. It was amusing sometimes to make some obviously untrue remark, just to see whether they would agree, which they very often did. Yet some of the best officers I have had under me freely spoke their minds if they thought I was wrong, and I liked them the better for it. There is altogether too much play-acting in the Asiatic make-up. Unless it suited their own ends they had little regard for the truth. From what I have seen of witnesses, I cannot honestly say that many of them had much respect for an oath and I often thought that it was a pity that before the start of every judicial proceedings the entire Buddhist oath was not read out to the assembled witnesses, for no more lurid imprecation to be cursed by all the ills that flesh is heir to by earth and water and sky has probably ever been devised. Though the Burman could lie most brazenly when it suited his purposes and, if refuted, re-lie and so sometimes tie up the less complex-minded European so that he began to doubt whether he was speaking the truth himself, he was not so poker-faced as the Indian, and did not lie for the sake of lying. If he was decently treated and knew that you were just, he was frequently very straightforward.

HONESTY ?

Though many of the Burman officials were corrupt—and what country is there that has not its corrupt officials ?—I believe that a larger number of them than is commonly supposed were perfectly honest, though no great value was set on honesty. For the wicked at times flourished exceedingly, and in their old age sought repentance for their earlier sins through piety and religious works. Low though the standard of evidence may be, I am convinced that we should adopt the principle of removal from Government service on account of well-established reputation for dishonesty. If we can at least do some cleansing of the Augean stables of corruption and aid in raising the standard of the Buddhist priesthood, we shall have accomplished something—but the latter enterprise is largely one which Buddhists must take on themselves.

Though theft was common all over the country, those whom one had about one were usually reasonably honest. In 20 years I do not remember anything being stolen from my camp, in spite of very obvious facilities. One went out on tour and left one's house with the servants who remained behind and nothing valuable was taken behind one's back. Of course they took one's cigarettes and used one's tea and sugar but they were generally honest about money, though the prudent employer did not leave it lying about. Like other Asiatics, they frequently took a rake-off on commissions, and sometimes expressed pained surprise when one suggested it. Sometimes they even acknowledged generosity by refraining from further exactions—and this is a rare occurrence in the East. But it was always wise to see that your payments were made direct to those for whom they were intended, or part of

it stuck *en route*. It was advisable, for example, to see that payment of your bill for supplies and transport on tour reached the proper parties, and I was surprised to find that so many officers left it to their subordinates, for even the best of camp clerks may be tempted to increase their salaries.

FOOD

The Burman officer usually gave his servants a rice allowance or expected them to eat the remains of his own food, which was usually more than enough for his own family. The European usually did neither of these, with the result that the Burman helped himself. As, unlike the Mahommedan and the Hindu, he had no prejudices about what he ate, this was easy. There is probably no more omnivorous people than the Burmese. The village folk, especially the hill peoples, ate everything—snakes, frogs, field rats, cats, the pupæ of various beetles, bees' grubs, in fact almost any kind of living thing—except dogs and vultures. The Chins ate dogs, boiling them after they had been well stuffed with *kaukhnyin*, a kind of sweet and glutinous rice, the final concoction resembling canine haggis. Cats were not safe when Karens were anywhere around. Burmans ate, of course, all the larger beasts of the jungle, including elephant, which actually is not much tougher than some of the bazaar beef. Some of them even put by the elephant's hide for steeping in salt and then consuming luxuriously with limes. The slaying of one of the larger animals was hailed with joy for it provided the local villagers with meat for weeks. They had the most extraordinary ideas about the virtues of some kinds of food. Rhinoceros blood and horn, the

velvet of sambhur, the gall bladder of the python and the blood of monkeys were all considered effective for the impotent or waning lover. Tiger's urine was said to be a cure for deafness. But you must not eat ducks' eggs and water melon at the same meal or you will die, and equally fatal results might be expected for him who sprinkled sugar on his mangosteen. But some of these ideas were perhaps not so very extraordinary after all, for we have all heard of monkey glands, and hartshorn was a specific in the middle ages.

RETROSPECT

Looking at my own family—the elder destined after a few months for a private school in England, the younger just starting to crawl his way into the brave new world that has been promised us—I wonder whether they, the fourth of their line to have connections with the East, will return to the lands of their early upbringing, for so much is in the melting pot. What impressions will they carry into their after life of the kindly people who did so much for them when they could do little for themselves—the most charming Karen nannie, the smiling Kachin and the Burman boy in whose care they were always safely left, the Anglo-Indian nurse and the host of Indians who surrounded them? I think that they will be happy ones and will somehow influence them, even though the East for which we have toiled has no further use for us, for much as we have cursed the East and loathed the East at times, she has always had that enduring and indescribable quality that will always appeal to the British heart.

Our "backwater" as others have sometimes thought it, a land in which life moved at a slower and less preten-

tious rate of progress, the Burma of the head-hunting dacoit and the malaria-infested jungle, has been a land of happy memories and one in which we have some reason for satisfaction in the past. We like to think that our standard of work and administration was as good as that of others ; though our roads were few, and our modern sanitation and hotels all but non-existent, we have at least managed to escape the danger of becoming tripperish and have retained the dignity of Arcadia, even though that dignity has at times been ruffled by unseemly brawls.

The passage of time has been so swift to some of us that it is difficult to believe that over twenty years have gone since we first went to Burma and experienced the loneliness of a strange land, in which both the men and women wore skirts and seemed so difficult to tell apart, since the feeling of awe mixed with importance when trying one's first criminal case, since those early tours when one thought one would never speak Burmese or be able to inspect a *kwin* intelligibly, from one's first dealings with the jungle folk and the memory of how shy one had felt at their manifestations of respect, through the Settlement days when one was very much in touch with the lives and troubles of the agriculturist, through the long years of District work, the endless files and inspections of musty revenue proceedings, the tribulations and the triumphs and through all the many thousand miles of trekking, always trekking up hill and down dale. For most of us, I think, there will be the abiding satisfaction that we have spent the best part of our lives among a very charming people, whom we should like to see re-established on the road to peace and happiness, in whatever direction that road may lie. Those who go back will

have no easy task, for they trusted us and during the past few years we have cut a sorry figure. Only the complete defeat of the Japanese can rehabilitate us in their esteem. But when this comes, I believe that we shall find the Burmese people as a whole as kindly-minded towards us as they have always been, and that they will wish to continue as a part of the British Empire, to which they have owed more than some of their leaders have given credit.

No. 15 Double Pamphlet As. 12

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

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By K. G. SAIYADAIN

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possible to speak with any statistical certainty about the extent to which facilities for primary (or higher) education were available in India during the ancient or medieval ages. We know definitely that during many luminous periods of Hindu history as also during the Pathan and Mogul periods there was a fairly extensive network of secular and religious schools in the country.

Education before the East India Company

It is difficult to say what the exact state of affairs was in the period immediately preceding the rule of the East India Company. One school of thought — perhaps prompted, consciously or unconsciously, by the desire to throw into bright relief the British period of Indian history — has attempted to prove that when the East India Company stepped into the Indian scene the country was plunged in veritable educational darkness and that, partly on account of the indifference of earlier rulers and partly on account of the wars and the generally unsettled political condition of the preceding decades, no adequate or satisfactory arrangement existed for the education of the people. This view has, however, been seriously challenged by another school of thought which includes Europeans like Dr. Leitner (Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab) and Keir Hardie. They hold that, even at that time, there was a very widespread network of indigenous schools all over the country, that the percentage of literacy was much higher than today, and that it was the lack of proper integration or the uncontrolled conflict between the old and the new systems of education which brought about the rapid decay of the former. On the authority of Max Müller, Keir Hardie has expressed the opinion that before the advent of the British there were as many as 80,000 schools (*maktabs* and *madrasas*) in Bengal alone — which averages out at a

school for every four hundred persons — and that in most villages a majority of people could read and write. With the breakdown of the old system, the village schools gradually disappeared and illiteracy swept the countryside apace. In the absence of reliable statistical data, it is difficult to adjudicate authoritatively between these contradictory views, but, on the basis of the evidence that is available, there is no reason to believe that the pre-British period was either educationally obscurantist or indifferent to the educational needs of the people.

Under the Company's Rule

What, however, of the educational efforts and policy of the East India Company? During the Company's regime, the question of primary education did not figure at all prominently before the Directors and, in the early stages at least, it was definitely ignored. The Directors were naturally more concerned with the size of their dividends than with the provision of educational facilities for a people whose culture and psychology they did not fully understand or appreciate. There was, however, a small group of Englishmen—men like Charles Grant and Wilberforce—who *were* in favour of providing educational facilities in India; but their motives were somewhat mixed. They believed that education would make for ordered progress rather than sweeping, revolutionary changes, as ignorant and illiterate masses are more inflammable material for the political agitator. Again, as Charles Grant argued in his pamphlet, dated 1798, the propagation of English education is desirable because it would 'eradicate the superstitions and falsehoods inherent in the religious thought and philosophy of the Indian people', and consequently impress upon them the superiority of Western culture and religion. The redoubtable Lord Macaulay also lent his support, later, to this narrow-minded and somewhat conceited view. But the

curious fact is that the Directors of the Company were stoutly opposed even to the bill introduced by Wilberforce in Parliament in 1792, advocating that Christian missionaries and educational workers be sent out to India. They apparently considered discretion to be the better part of valour and were afraid that even these missionary efforts might result in political awakening and unrest, and that the unpleasant experience of the American colonies might be repeated in India's rich and obliging land. Little wonder then that even the modest efforts of the interested Englishmen to bring English education to India remained fruitless for many years.

As the years rolled on, there was a growing consciousness on the part of the new rulers, aided perhaps by public pressure, that education is an important responsibility of the state which could not be indefinitely evaded. But things moved at an exasperatingly slow pace. In 1813, the magnificent sum of one lakh of rupees was sanctioned in the Budget, for the first time, for educational purposes but even this amount was not fully utilized for ten years. From 1824 onwards, two or three lakhs were annually spent on education, but obviously such expenditure could not go far to meet the educational needs of millions of people. The Education Dispatch of 1854 made a more serious attempt to tackle the problem. It recommended the extension of primary education through the direct instrumentality of the state, as well as the encouragement of private schools through grants-in-aid. But the proposals did not cut much ice, because the resources available were ridiculously meagre as compared to the magnitude of the problem. Moreover, the Government of the day as well as some influential, and otherwise far-sighted, Indian leaders like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had pinned their faith in what has come to be known as the Filtration Theory of education, i.e. concentrate on

higher education and the education of the upper classes and they will, in their turn, naturally and inevitably, provide for the education of the masses. Education percolating down from the top, as it were! If political conditions had been different and intimate contact had existed between the classes and the masses, there was some likelihood of the filtration process being set in motion. As it was, this attempt to build a top-heavy, inverted pyramid failed signally as an educational policy for an enormous and predominantly illiterate country.

The Beginnings of an Educational System

The Hunter Commission of 1882 surveyed the educational situation again and made as many as 36 recommendations on primary education, some of which were quite unexceptionable. But the Report lacked vision and a proper appreciation of the magnitude of the problem and there was not even a distant indication of the possibility of universal primary education. It recommended that 'the strenuous efforts of the state should now be directed to primary education *in a still larger measure than heretofore*'. The 'still larger measure' sounds amusing, if it is not meant to be ironical. The Municipal and District Boards were directed to institute school funds out of which part of the expenditure on primary education was to be met and grants-in-aid were to be based on the pernicious system of 'payment-by-results'. Even these recommendations were not vigorously or effectively implemented, and the nineteenth century closed in an educational stalemate.

While the rest of the world was going full steam ahead in the educational field during the early decades of the present century, the policy in India continued to be characterized by the same fatal gradualness as before. In 1904, a Resolution on Indian Educational Policy was conceived and published by Lord Curzon, in which the Government of

India went so far as to 'fully accept the proposition that the active extension of primary education is one of the most important duties of the state'. As an earnest of the seriousness of their purpose, the Imperial Government grant to education for *all* the provinces was raised from forty to seventy lakhs of rupees—a staggering increase if compared with the 1813 grant of one lakh, but staggeringly inadequate if judged against the magnitude of the country's educational needs. Some idea of the size of the problem can be gathered from the sobering fact that in 1907 only 36 lakhs out of 180 lakhs of boys of school-going age were actually at school, i.e. 80 out of 100 boys had no schooling whatever—good, bad or indifferent—and 'being at school', as we shall see later, is by no means synonymous with achieving literacy! This leaves the girls entirely out of the picture, as their percentage of literacy was still to be computed in decimal fractions.

The Demand for Compulsion

The first definite and vocal demand for the introduction of compulsory primary education was made by Mr G. K. Gokhale in 1910 when he moved his Resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council and followed it up next year with his Compulsory Education Bill—a modest bill, well within the scope of the English Education Act of 1870, in which he only asked that 'a beginning be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory'. In the course of his speech he made it perfectly clear that nothing but compulsion would meet the needs of the situation.

> 'The Government of India are committed to a policy of mass education, and the rate at which we have been going for the last 60 years is hopelessly slow. Even at the accelerated pace of the last ten years, it will take an

> enormously long period for every boy and every girl to be at school. Moreover, this does not take into account the natural and necessary increases of population in the country. . . . India must profit by the example and by the experience of other civilized countries. And other civilized countries have come to only one conclusion in this matter, and that is that the state must resort to compulsion in order to secure universal education for the people. . . . Once a beginning is made, the public mind in the country will be rapidly familiarized with the idea of compulsion, and it will then not take more than 20 years at the outside to have a system of universal education in the country in full operation.'

But the bill was opposed by all official members and some of the non-official members and was defeated by 31 votes to 13—all honour to the 13! The reasons given by the official opposition were plausible, some of them even valid: there was no popular demand for it; the local Governments did not favour the idea; a minority (!) of the educated Indians were opposed to it; and there was *still* room for the extension of primary education on a voluntary basis (room, of course, and to spare). The point to be noted, however, is that these arguments could commend themselves only to those who were opposed *ab initio* to the principle and the ideals underlying the bill and who were not prepared to face all its financial and administrative implications and difficulties. It was a crucial test of the lip-devotion to the cause of education, and neither the officials nor many of the non-officials emerged well out of it. The entire episode ended in yet another Resolution (1913) containing many useful suggestions about details and many pious platitudes. But the entire upshot was that the expansion of primary education was still to be attempted through the instrumentality of Local Boards, supplemented by grants-in-aid to encourage private effort. The Government still fought shy of assuming direct responsibility for this basic national service.

Primary Education Acts

Meanwhile the Great War of 1914–18 was fought and won. It brought in its train many disasters, but also a promise of political reform culminating in the Government of India Act of 1919, which incidentally stimulated interest in education. During the years 1918–20 the various Provincial Governments passed a crop of Primary Education Acts which may be regarded as the nearest approximation so far achieved to the ideal of introducing compulsory primary education in the country. They differed in details, but the general outline is the same. The Acts gave the Municipalities and the District Boards the authority to introduce, *at their option*, compulsory education between the ages of six and ten within any part of their jurisdiction after obtaining Government sanction for the purpose. In most of the provinces it is contemplated that this education will be free, but in some like Bengal it is thoughtfully laid down that it '*shall* not ordinarily be free'! Thus the introduction of compulsion is still left to the discretion and initiative of local bodies and, considering what their financial resources generally are and how much forceful initiative can be reasonably expected of them, it is obvious that these Acts could not be the harbingers of any radical or revolutionary programmes. They failed to solve the problem of mass education.

II. SOME PROBLEMS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

The Magnitude of the Problem

When we come to examine the outstanding problems of primary education in India, the first point that confronts us is its sheer magnitude. India is now a country of about 400 million people and the population grows apace. In spite of the greatly increased funds and attention devoted to the problem during the last few decades, we have not even

touched the outer fringes. At present only 34 per cent of the boys and girls of school-going age are under instruction, and even this percentage must be heavily discounted, for a variety of reasons, in estimating literacy. There is, firstly, the problem of wastage. Only 26 per cent of the boys and 13 per cent of the girls on the roll of the primary schools manage to reach Class IV, and considering that even after five years' schooling students fail to achieve permanent literacy—to say nothing of other more important educational objectives—the rest of the boys and girls can be easily left out in calculating effective literacy. The following figures reveal, for example, a tell-tale picture of the classwise enrolment in the primary schools of Bengal and show the paralysing incidence of wastage:[1]

Infant class	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
21	6·5	4·5	2·0	1·5

This means that only 7 per cent of the children get to Class IV, while the rest fall by the wayside, and that the educational machinery is like a 100-horsepower engine working with 7 per cent efficiency. This makes educational expenditure unprofitable, educational effort ineffective and schools inefficient. It is the despair of teachers, inspecting officers and educational administrators and, unless radical steps are taken to check it, no schemes of reform can have any chance of being successful. Again, while literacy has been slowly increasing, the population has grown more quickly, and it is a moot point whether, at this rate, the increase in the total number of literates can keep pace with the increase in the number of illiterates. In 1881, the percentage was reported to be 3·5 per cent, in 1931 it had risen to 8 per cent, i.e. by 4·5 per cent. According to this depressing basis of calculation, it will take the country, at the present rate of progress, about one millennium to achieve 100 per cent literacy.

[1] J. M. Sen, *Primary Education Acts.*

Looked at from the point of view of expenditure to be incurred, the position is no more encouraging. According to the latest figures available, we spend about ninety million rupees annually on education from all the various sources—Government, Local Boards, income from fees, etc. On a *conservative* estimate the total recurring expenditure on primary education on a nation-wide scale is likely to be about 300 million rupees, without counting the capital cost to be incurred on buildings and equipment—conservative, because it is calculated on the basis of an average annual expenditure of Rs. 8 per boy and Rs. 10 per girl, which is ridiculously low as compared with the corresponding cost in educationally advanced countries.

The Inevitability of Compulsion

No approach to the problem of primary education is worth anything which ignores this quantitative aspect. The greatest tragedy of the Indian educational policy has been its lack of vision and far-sightedness, a failure to realize that no palliative measures but a tremendous nation-wide crusade alone can meet the situation. What Great Britain was doing in the field of education three-quarters of a century ago still defines the boundaries of the official policy, and the introduction of compulsory, universal education is still looked upon as a desirable, but a very distant, dream. Our survey has, however, shown conclusively that much cannot be achieved either through the mythical process of filtration, or through the encouragement of private enterprise or the establishment of state schools in selected localities or even through a kind of permissive compulsion. This obstinate fact is now recognized not only by politicians and educationists but also by seasoned, and therefore cautious, administrators. Thus Sir George Anderson has pointed out in his *Report on the Progress of Education in the Panjab (1924–25)*

that neither economy nor efficiency could be attained without compulsion, which would, on the one hand, reduce wastage and eliminate 'superfluous' and 'uneconomical' schools (by making better planning possible), and, on the other hand, ensure a better chance of achieving literacy by insisting on attendance for a minimum period of four or five years. 'Compulsion is, therefore, an economy and not a luxury which must wait for better times. Every effort should, therefore, be made to introduce it as rapidly as possible.' But while the realization is clear, it has failed to find expression in any long-range plan of expansion inspired by imagination and sympathy.

Further it must be realized that to make compulsory education a success, it is absolutely necessary to make it entirely free. I am always surprised at those who demur at this demand and fail to realize that, if in the richest countries in the world like England and the U.S.A., mass education is not only free but there are many additional facilities like midday meals for children, free medical service, scholarships on a generous scale and, in certain cases, even maintenance allowance for parents, a poor country like India cannot expect her people to pay directly for the education of their children. If mass education is considered as an avoidable luxury or, at best, an act of philanthropy, it is right to think of ways and means of reducing expenditure by restricting its scope and fighting shy of its essential financial implications. But if education is a fundamental civic and human right and basic to the health of the body politic, funds *must* be found for the purpose, whatever the cost of the scheme. Perhaps it is ultimately a question of values. If we consider educational and cultural activities to be as important as wars or the civil services, funds will be forthcoming—not easily, by any means, but through the adoption of a many-sided programme of national planning and economic and industrial reconstruc-

tion. If not, there will always be plausible and apparently unassailable arguments and statistics to prove that it is impossible to introduce free, compulsory and universal primary education in this country.

Reconstruction of Primary Education

So much for the organization or the framework of primary education. We must now turn to its other equally important aspect: its contents and ideology. It is a debatable point whether poor and defective education is in any way better than no education at all. And, for various reasons, our primary education has been meagre, ineffective and uninteresting. It has neither quickened the minds nor enriched the life of the students. Cramped within the narrow compass of the traditional academic subjects and certain technical skills, it has neither been based on the psychology of the child nor responsive to the needs of national life. The future of education cannot be better than its depressing past unless we can reconstruct radically the curriculum, the methods and the whole atmosphere of the primary school, on which rests the entire educational superstructure. If the work of this school lacks life, reality and the touch of imagination, nothing can guarantee the health of the educational system as a whole.

The Balance of Theory and Practice

Along what lines should this reconstruction proceed?

In the first place, we must redress the defective balance between theory and practice in our schools. While life is practical, pragmatic and constructive, the school is a place of bookish learning. When the child enters the school, there is an abrupt and upsetting split in his life because of the conspicuous lack of continuity between the home and school atmosphere. On account of its predominantly academic approach, the school fails to train its students for the practi-

cal demands of an active, social and productive life. A village boy, who has to find his livelihood and his life interests in agriculture and allied types of manual work, does not become a better farmer or a better citizen by receiving stereotyped instruction in the three Rs, which are often divorced from the concrete realities and the pulsating life and problems of his environment. The real object of primary education is not to wean away the children from their rural surroundings or the normal preoccupations of the village community but to enable them to take their place in village life with greater intelligence, understanding and appreciation. The ordinary run of our primary schools fail to achieve this object not only because their curriculum is narrow and one-sided and their methods passive and unliberating but also because they lack adequate accommodation and equipment and work under such adverse *material* conditions that it becomes impossible to create any traditions or tastes or truly educative atmosphere in them. Many of the social and artistic aptitudes of children wither away because they never get any chance for self-expression, and the country suffers an incalculable loss of talent and creative capacity.

The Widening of the Curriculum

It would not be true to say that no attempts have been made to improve methods or to enrich and modify the curriculum during the last few decades. To remedy the artificiality that broods over the work of the primary school, new subjects have been introduced: manual training, nature study, rural science, agriculture, drawing, etc. Schools with a rural bias have been opened and books have been written with an eye to the needs and interests of village children. A few progressive schools have flirted with the Project Method and the Dalton Plan and other modern methods. But these reforms have unfortunately failed to revolutionize

educational ideology and technique because, generally speaking, piecemeal changes and modifications have been introduced into the set framework of the existing system—as if life, which is dynamic and free, could be forced into preconceived, outworn and unsuitable moulds! What is really needed is an almost exactly opposite approach. Study life—its needs and demands and problems; study the child—his mind, his instincts, his emotions and his interests, and then devise a system of education that will ring true on these two complementary counters. Life is the great denominator; education must be reduced to its living terms.

Basic National Education

The scheme of Basic National Education, with which is associated the name of Mahatma Gandhi, is perhaps the most significant and radical attempt so far made to reconstruct primary education from this point of view. I can touch here only very briefly on its most salient characteristics. Firstly, the scheme attacks the problem boldly instead of postulating timid and gradual approaches. It asks for the introduction of *free and universal primary education, on a compulsory basis*, throughout the country. It is not content with a 4- or 5-years' course but insists on a *7-years' course* from the age of 7 to 14 in order to ensure that the children at school will not only acquire effective and abiding literacy but will also be mature enough to understand and appreciate social problems and develop social habits and attitudes. This education is to be *basic*, i.e. related to the basic interests of the child mind and the basic occupations of community life. And, as the mind of the child is an active, pragmatic and social organism and the life of the community is sustained through various types of craftwork, education, too, must centre round some suitable *basic craft*, chosen with due regard to the occupations of the

locality. This craft is not to be just another subject like manual training: it is the pivot of the entire teaching, to which all the other subjects are to be *correlated.* As the craft is practised and its 'why and wherefore' studied with care, problems will arise and questions press themselves on the child's attention and, in tackling them and following up their ramifications under the tactful and unobtrusive guidance of the teacher, the child will gradually find his way into the domains of history, geography, science, etc. Thus education, starting as a unified and integral activity, will lead him into ever-expanding regions of knowledge. Such an approach to the unlocking of the child's mind and creative powers is more effective and fruitful not only because it enlists the powerful support of his instincts but also because it offers opportunities for co-operative and group work in school and thus establishes lines of liaison between life in school and outside. It bases his education on the bedrock of productive work, which is as essential for moral and social training as for the training of practical aptitudes.

Thanks to the impetus given to the scheme by Mahatma Gandhi, it got a promising start in 1938—in spite of the objections of the academicians and the financial and administrative difficulties—and, but for the political impasse that ensued soon after, it would have made much greater headway. Even as it is, it has passed through the most critical stage of early experimentation and trial and, although many modifications and adjustments of detail will be necessary in the light of growing experience, the fundamentals of the scheme stand justified at the bar of informed educational opinion. Not, indeed, that the approval is unanimous—what radical scheme can claim that impossible reception?—but the movement has certainly received a gratifying measure of support, in some cases from entirely unexpected quarters.

It may be difficult to predict its exact future but it is certain that it will exercise a powerful formative influence on the shaping of our educational policy and it will not be possible for any intelligent educationist of the future to think of primary education in terms of the needs of upper and middle classes only or to envisage the primary school as mainly a place of book learning, unrelated to the socio-economic situation and its future as visualized by men of intelligence and foresight.

Educational Reconstruction as part of National Reconstruction

Is it possible to implement this or any other radical scheme of mass education in India? Obviously, the mere framing of an ambitious programme is no *ipso facto* guarantee of its practicability, as it does not offer any solution of the undeniable financial and administrative difficulties. This is an irritating question—irritating in the sense that it either ignores the modern educational history of many other countries which have achieved, in spite of being almost equally handicapped, the seeming miracle of a reasonably well-organized system of mass education, or because it implies the assumption that the people of this country are stamped by a specially designed inferiority which makes them incapable of achieving what others have achieved. If, within a period of 40 years, the U.S.A. could increase the percentage of literacy in the Philippines from 2 to 55 per cent, if within 20 years the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics could reduce the illiteracy of its backward and widely scattered population from 78 to 8 per cent, if China and Turkey, struggling against the heaviest of odds, could tackle this problem with noticeable success, is there any reason, in the very nature of things, why India should be unable to do so? There is, however, one necessary condition which will

have to be fulfilled if this tremendous task is to be done; it postulates the organization of an enthusiastic educational crusade, on a nation-wide basis, which would sweep away alike the people's indifference and the administrators' hesitations and timidity. This cannot, however, be generated in a vacuum; it must be part of a much greater movement for the radical reconstruction of the socio-economic structure of the people's life, arising out of the impulse of national freedom. That is why I feel convinced that the educational problem of India will not be solved till the political problem has been satisfactorily solved, till India is not only politically free but, like the U.S.S.R., utilizes its freedom for fashioning a society based on social justice and planning its economic and industrial life on rational lines. That alone can stimulate the enthusiasm and guarantee the men and the money, the spirit and the sacrifice necessary for this stupendous task.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

THE secondary, or high, school in which English is taught and in which, until recently, English was the sole medium of instruction, is Britain's most distinctive contribution to modern Indian education. It has a long and interesting history which goes back far beyond Macaulay's Minute and it is in the light of this history that its present position, as the backbone of the whole educational system, is most easily intelligible. Some authorities trace its origin to the early efforts of Christian missionaries, belonging to different countries and to different Protestant denominations. Another school of thought is inclined to regard the modern secondary school as the direct descendant of the private seminaries which sprang up, chiefly in Calcutta, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to meet the demands of

Indians for a knowledge of English. It is generally agreed, however, that missionary as well as private enterprise preceded by several years any serious attempt on the part of the Government to provide English education for the people of India. It is also agreed that the first person to formulate an elaborate scheme for the introduction of a widespread system of English education was Charles Grant, who retired from the Company's service in 1790 and subsequently became a Member of Parliament and Chairman of the Board of Directors. He was fired by evangelical zeal and greatly influenced by what Schwartz had done in Madras for the improvement of the people. Backed by the Clapham Sect and by several missionary societies he succeeded, after more than twenty years of strenuous effort, in having an educational clause inserted in the Charter of 1813; this authorized the Company to make a small allotment from public funds for the 'revival of learning' (presumably Oriental) and the 'promotion of scientific knowledge' (presumably Western). This clause marks an epoch, because it is the first legislative admission of the right of education in India to participate in public revenues and because it started the controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists which agitated Bengal for many years to come. In the following year (1814) the Directors issued their first educational Dispatch, which puzzled the authorities in India. In the first place it was so vaguely worded that it was difficult to make out what exactly were the intentions of Parliament; secondly, the suggestion that the support of education was a duty resting upon the state was considered not merely quixotic but even dangerous. For years past the Government in India had been pledged to the principle of *strict religious neutrality* and were reluctant to do anything which might be regarded as an interference with the religious beliefs or practices of any section of the people; they were frankly

suspicious of the wisdom of the decision to promote the moral and religious improvement of India, for they were well aware of the evangelical inspiration that lay behind it. The easiest way out of the difficulty was to ignore the Dispatch and to adopt a policy of masterly inactivity.

When a Committee of Public Instruction was set up in 1823 it was decided that the limited funds available should be devoted to the encouragement of Oriental learning, which had behind it the sanction of religion and traditional associations dear to the people. Since the time of Warren Hastings the Company had maintained a few Oriental Colleges, such as the Calcutta Madrassa and the Hindu College, Benares. These had been established for administrative reasons—for the training of upper-class Mohammedans and Hindus for responsible judicial work—and it was believed that the patronage extended to them by the Government would conciliate the more orthodox and influential members of each of the two great communities. Even if no funds had been made available for educational purposes, these institutions would have continued to enjoy Government patronage. The new Committee proposed the establishment of additional Oriental Colleges, whereupon Ram Mohan Roy, the most enlightened Indian of his day and himself a Sanskrit scholar, wrote a letter of protest to the Governor-General urging the Government to encourage the advancement of modern scientific knowledge. His protest went unheeded and the Committee reported to the Directors that there was no demand for Western culture and that a knowledge of English was not among the sensible wants of the people.

This verdict is all the more remarkable because the phenomenal success of the Hindu College (or Vidyalaya) was known to everyone in Calcutta and this institution, even at the time, was in receipt of financial aid from the Government. The College had been founded in 1817 by

the united efforts of David Hare, an English watchmaker and philanthropist, and Ram Mohan Roy, the acknowledged leader of liberal Indian opinion. It was an entirely secularist institution, intended to impart Western knowledge to Hindus of good family, and English was employed as the medium of instruction in the higher classes. Owing to the failure of a bank in which its funds (collected by private subscription) were deposited, Hare approached the Government for assistance and so the College (which developed into the Presidency College in 1855) came under Government control—partial in the beginning. Conservative Hindus viewed with misgivings the secular education which the college imparted, and the extravagant behaviour of some of the students alarmed the Committee of Public Instruction. To counteract the influence of the Vidyalaya, Duff founded his equally famous English College in 1830 and, despite the fact that he made religious teaching obligatory, this institution was soon filled to overflowing (no fees were charged) by enthusiastic young Hindus who were anxious to qualify themselves for honourable, albeit worldly, careers. Some years before, Munro in Madras (1822–6) and Elphinstone in Bombay (1823–7) had urged upon the Directors the desirability of encouraging higher English education among the *upper* classes and they had insisted that it was the duty of the Government to train the natural leaders of the people to occupy responsible administrative posts. The anxiety of the sons of middle- and upper-class Hindus to obtain safe and lucrative employment and the desire of the Company to recruit, at cheap rates, efficient Indian officers go a long way towards explaining the growing demand for English education. In spite of the short-sightedness of the Committee, who advocated caution and the expediency of conciliating learned *maulvis* and *pandits*, the Directors, who were influenced by the elder Mill, came to the conclusion (1830) that higher

English education was deserving of all the encouragement which the Government could give it, because it was calculated 'to raise up a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high appointment in the civil administration of India'. It is clear that long before Macaulay penned his once famous, now infamous, Minute the die was cast in favour of English education. Macaulay's championship came late and his glib condemnation of Oriental learning was not necessary to convince Bentinck that in future all funds available for educational purposes should be devoted to the maintenance of schools and colleges devoted to Western, but secular, learning to be imparted through the medium of English.

When the facts are squarely faced, Macaulay cannot be held responsible for having imposed an alien culture upon an unwilling India; on the other hand, some credit is due to him for having settled a long-standing dispute and for having confirmed the Governor-General in his opinion that a small allotment from public funds could legally be spent on the promotion of Western learning. It must be conceded that he had no doubt in his own mind that English was of greater cultural value and of greater practical use than Sanskrit or Arabic, or even Persian; also, like many others of his day (including Indians), he believed that the spoken languages were too crude and undeveloped to be suitable vehicles for the communication of modern knowledge. His advocacy of higher English education was based on the assumption that if the upper classes were given facilities for the acquirement of modern knowledge, such knowledge would gradually percolate down to the masses. This is the well-known filtration theory which amounts to little more than this: 'Educate the classes and the masses will look after themselves.' This, of course, is absurd and the students, mostly Hindus, who enrolled themselves in English schools and colleges were not inspired by any zeal to educate or uplift their more unfortunate fellows—

they were too much engrossed in their own affairs and bent on satisfying their own ambitions. Even under Muslim rule Government service had been largely monopolized by Hindus; being wise in their generation, they now abandoned the study of Persian and learned English instead. Small blame to them if they regarded Western education as essentially vocational and embarked on the study of English much in the same spirit as young persons of today might take a course in shorthand or typewriting. This attitude was encouraged even by the Government: in 1837 it was decided that English and the spoken languages of the country should supplant Persian in the law-courts, and in 1844 Lord Hardinge issued a Proclamation announcing that young men educated in English institutions would be given preference for appointment to Government service. These administrative measures gave a considerable impetus to the spread of English education. The Government's policy appears to have satisfied an influential body of advanced Hindu opinion, though it was repugnant to Muslims and strongly condemned by English administrators whose opinions were entitled to respect. Unfortunately, exact figures for the twenty years following 1835 are not available, but it is known (i) that when the Hoogly College was started (1837) no less than 1,200 applications for admission were received within the first three days; (ii) that the number of English schools controlled by the Committee of Public Instruction rose from 28 in 1843 to 151 in 1855, while the number of pupils increased in the same period from 4,632 to 13,163; (iii) that prior to 1854 the Government had established an English school in each district headquarters town (save one) of the Bombay Presidency. With the rapid growth of English schools and colleges (there was no clear line of demarcation between the two), Oriental Colleges lapsed into a state of suspended animation, while primary education, except in Bombay and

the new North-Western Provinces, made little, if any, headway. The ever-growing enthusiasm for English education seemed a sufficient justification for the anglicizing policy which the Government, with some reluctance and after considerable hesitation, had finally adopted.

The issue of Wood's Dispatch (1854), 'a bold, farseeing and statesmanlike document' which is still the basis of the Indian educational system, disturbed the complacency of all concerned. Among many important recommendations it proposed the introduction of a well-articulated system of education from the elementary school upwards, the creation of a Department of Public Instruction in each major province, the institution of a system of grants-in-aid and the foundation of universities (on the London model) in the Presidency towns. The recognition of the importance of primary education is a welcome departure along new lines and implies a repudiation of the old and pernicious theory of downward filtration. The main objective, however, was still 'to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people' and this was to be imparted to the upper classes through the medium of English and to the masses through their own spoken languages. As far as higher education is concerned, the most important recommendation was the establishment of universities. This proposal caught the popular imagination and English education became more popular than ever before. High schools and colleges increased with unprecedented rapidity and students, mostly middle-class Hindus, flocked to them in their thousands. As a result, almost all the money available for the educational needs of a vast population was spent on higher English education and the claims of elementary education were conveniently shelved.

It is little wonder that the Hunter Commission were quick to realize that the system had become top-heavy and, to

redress the balance, they recommended the gradual withdrawal of the Government from the field of higher education and its transference to semi-official and private bodies, which were to be given liberal grants-in-aid. The main object of these proposals was to curtail Government's expenditure on secondary schools and colleges and so make available more money for the spread of primary education, which was held to have 'an almost exclusive claim on public revenues'. In order to encourage the establishment of private high schools and colleges, they went so far as to recommend that these institutions should charge fees lower than those charged in similar institutions controlled by the Government. These proposals, plausible on the surface, had certain effects which were never intended: they led to the multiplication of inefficient secondary schools and colleges, miserably staffed and inadequately equipped. By their terms of reference the Commission were precluded from dealing with the universities, but one of their most important recommendations indicates that they viewed with alarm the stereotyped literary education imparted in high schools already dominated by the requirements of Matriculation: they proposed that in the upper classes there should be bifurcation, 'one division leading to Matriculation and the other of a more practical character to fit youths for commercial and non-literary pursuits'. The Government gave this recommendation their blessing, but took no steps to implement it, even in their own schools, while private, including missionary, institutions were unable to meet the expenditure involved by the provision of modern equipment and the employment of expert teachers. It was certainly difficult to go against the tide of popular enthusiasm, and the educated classes still adhered to the traditional view that literary studies were on a higher plane than any sort of practical training. The result was that things were allowed to drift and, as the century

drew towards its close, the products of the existing system, many of them graduates, found it more and more difficult to find employment; economic insecurity naturally bred discontent and this was fanned by political agitation. Nothing, however, was done to remedy matters until Lord Curzon decided to tackle the thorny question of educational reform. He appointed a University Commission which recommended (1904), as a cure for the tyranny of Matriculation and the evils of cramming, that the standard of entrance examinations should be raised and that candidates should not be allowed to matriculate until they had reached the age of 16; these proposals were popularly regarded as unjust and as a threat to the growing power of the intelligentsia. Another recommendation was that only 'recognized' schools should be allowed to send up candidates for Matriculation—a proposal which led to the framing of elaborate rules governing university recognition; these were laxly administered because the universities had neither the machinery nor the courage to enforce them. In *Resolutions on Indian Educational Policy* issued in 1904 and 1913 the Government of India stated that they were aware of the fact that purely literary courses continued to attract the great majority of pupils and that more practical courses were but little in request. They proposed to introduce 'alternative courses' to meet the needs of those who were destined for industrial and commercial pursuits, to free secondary schools from university domination by setting up S.L.C. examinations (with diversified curricula), and to curtail the use of English as the medium of instruction. These proposals failed to undermine the faith of the intelligentsia in university education; secondary schools of the old-fashioned type grew apace, and the defects of an unwieldy and inefficient system became most noticeable in Bengal. In 1917 the Calcutta University Commission was appointed to investigate the system of higher

education in that province and to give a lead to other provinces in the matter of educational reform. Two years later the Report of the Sadler Commission was published and it is generally ranked as an educational 'classic'. It exposed, with sympathy and impartiality, the faults of a narrow and examination-ridden system and laid particular stress on the inability of universities to control secondary education, on the rigid uniformity of the literary studies pursued for Matriculation, on the predominance of English and on the inefficiency of teachers and their miserable conditions of service. As far as high schools are concerned, the most important proposals related to the setting up of Intermediate Colleges, the dethronement of English as the medium of instruction and the appointment of well-qualified and well-paid trained teachers. These proposals were accepted, in principle, by the Government, but not carried out to any appreciable extent—least of all in Bengal itself. It is true that the upheaval caused by the Great War, the subsequent wave of economic depression and the political movements which led to dyarchy and culminated in the Reforms of 1937 help to explain the reluctance of the authorities to overhaul a system, which, in spite of its obvious defects, still had the support of the educated classes —including men of advanced political views.

The main defects of the system have been stressed in recent years by the Hartog Committee (1929) and the Abbott-Wood *Report on Vocational Education in India* (1937), which reiterated the necessity of building up a system of education suited to the needs and aspirations of the people and based on the industrial and economic requirements of the country. Various responsible bodies have since given careful consideration to the reform of secondary schools. For instance, the Conference of Indian Universities which met at Delhi in 1934 passed a resolution urging 'the radical readjustment of

the present system of education in such a way that a number of pupils should be diverted on the completion of their secondary education to occupations or to separate vocational institutions'; such reorganization, it was claimed, would relieve unemployment, ease congestion in the colleges and enable the universities to raise their standards of admission. In 1935 the Central Advisory Board made a comprehensive survey of the existing position and pointed out that 'various considerations necessitated a new attitude towards educational problems'; it was resolved that 'a radical readjustment of the present system in schools should be made in such a way as not only to prepare pupils for professional and university courses, but also to enable them, at the completion of appropriate stages, to be diverted to occupations or to separate vocational institutions'. Since then several provincial Governments have drawn up schemes for the introduction of S.L.C. examinations with diversified and practical courses, entirely free from university requirements. Such efforts as have been made to reform a stereotyped system have been cautious and they do not appear to have aroused much popular enthusiasm; old prejudices die hard and it would seem that vested interests will have to be set at nought and academic obstinacy overcome before schools can shake off university entanglements and enjoy the latitude and freedom which are theirs by right. It is a healthy sign, however, that university authorities are beginning to realize that direct preoccupation with schools tends to divert their attention from purely academic concerns, that the Matriculation examination is no longer a reliable test of fitness for higher studies, that colleges are crowded with young people who have no inclination or aptitude for academic work and that a lowering of standards is the inevitable consequence of granting easy admission to unwieldy numbers. Apart altogether from the problems of educated unemployment and

vocational training, it seems clear that the secondary system needs to be overhauled in the interests of universities themselves, so as to enable them to fill the place in the cultural life of the country which it is their duty to fill. In the meantime, some 1½ million boys and 350,000 girls (of whom nearly one-seventh are attending boys' schools) are receiving an education which is all of a piece, which has no direct bearing on the lives they lead outside their schools and which leads, or rather drives, them to embark on academic work for which the majority are totally unfitted.

When the present position is viewed in its proper historical perspective, it seems reasonable to conclude that the secondary school system suffers from arrested development: it has failed to keep pace with the changes—social and political, economic and industrial—which have gone to the making of modern India, and it has failed to keep abreast of the latest developments in educational theory and practice. Schools are weighed down by the incubus of Matriculation and fettered by regulations governing 'recognition'; courses are bookish and theoretical and provide little to attract pupils with a practical turn of mind; the excessive use of English as the medium of instruction places a severe psychological burden on both pupils and teachers—it stifles individuality, encourages memorization and makes instruction lifeless and mechanical; scientific and practical subjects are neglected and inadequate provision is made for outdoor games and other recreational activities. The whole school system is rigid and inelastic and is characterized by a dull and monotonous uniformity. On the whole, India has been well served by expert advice but, despite the recommendations of various Committees and Commissions, little has been done to adapt an outworn system to the conditions of modern life. Indeed, it is only a slight exaggeration to say that the Indian high school, with a few notable exceptions, is much the same

as it was in 1904 and but little changed from what it was as far back as 1884. It is abundantly clear, therefore, that the secondary system must be reorganized and made more fruitful; at present, it brings only disillusionment and discontent to many whose abilities and aspirations are deserving of a richer reward.

THE UNIVERSITIES

HIGHER education was imparted in this country even in the ancient days. There is abundant evidence to show that it was widespread, well-organized, and easily available. It was in keeping with the social framework; it was in harmony with the spirit of men's dreams; it sustained both the spiritual and the material needs of the community. Institutions of higher learning were richly endowed; they attracted scholars from far and near; many of the savants had an international reputation. Taxila, Nalanda, Mithila, Navadvipa, to mention only a few, were centres of learning to which flocked many a youth burning with the desire for light, eager to seek knowledge whatever the cost and however hard the conditions, willing to scorn delights and live laborious days, sitting for years at the feet of the masters, learning as much from oral discourse as from the written word. And after they had finished their course of instruction which included ritual and the holy scriptures, grammar and astronomy, medicine, logic and the different systems of philosophy, and had attained proficiency alike in disputation and in exposition, they went their way, either seeking the patronage of some court or content to lead the humble life of a scholar and preceptor in the obscure corner which was their home. This learning was in the main confined to the privileged Brahmana caste, though instances are not wanting

of members of other castes attaining real eminence in the world of scholarship. In the middle ages, despite many political changes, the even tenor of traditional learning was not disturbed. At the beginning of the twelfth century there were a thousand monks at the university of Odantapuri, three thousand at the Vikramasila Vihara, and a thousand at Vajrasena (Buddha Gaya). The village *tols* continued to flourish through the centuries, as also the *maktabs*. Education was imparted to large numbers of pupils, who, in course of time, rose to be *pandits* or *maulvis* or held offices of trust in the administration.

* * *

The beginning of English education can be traced to the year 1792 when the Court of Directors of the East India Company debated a proposal by Mr Wilberforce for sending out schoolmasters to India. On that occasion one of the Directors said that 'we had just lost America from our folly, in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and that it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India, and that if the Natives required anything in the way of education they must come to England for it'. In 1813, Parliament ordered that the sum of ten thousand pounds should be appropriated to the education of the natives. Act 53 Geo. III provides in Section 43: 'A sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.' The Court of Directors in their Dispatch of 1830, said: 'There is no point of view in which we look with greater interest at the exertions you are now making for the instruction of the Natives, than as being calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified, by their

intelligence and morality, for high employments in the Civil Administration of India. . . . We wish you to consider this as our deliberate view of the scope and end to which all our endeavours with respect to the education of the Natives should refer.' In 1835, Lord William Bentinck published a Resolution in which he said: 'His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.' The next stage is reached by the publication of Sir Charles Wood's Education Dispatch of 1854. Its main purport was thus summed up in the Report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882:

> 'It commends to the special attention of the Government of India the improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and Vernacular, and prescribes as the means for the attainment of these objects: (1) the constitution of a separate department of the administration for education; (2) the institution of Universities at the Presidency towns; (3) the establishment of institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools; (4) the maintenance of the existing government colleges and High Schools, and the increase of their number where necessary; (5) the establishment of new Middle Schools; (6) increased attention to Vernacular Schools, indigenous or other, for elementary education; and (7) the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid.'

Sir James Colville introduced the Calcutta University Bill which became Act II of 1857. In the preamble to it occurs the following sentence: 'For the better encouragement of Her Majesty's subjects of all classes and denominations within the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and other parts of India in the pursuit of a regular and liberal course of education it has been determined to establish a university at

Calcutta for the purpose of ascertaining by examination the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art, and marks of honour proportioned thereunto.' The University of Bombay was established in the same year, as also that of Madras. The Punjab University came into existence in 1882, and Allahabad in 1887. These five universities continued to serve the country for many years; their jurisdiction was fixed by the Act of 1904. It was not until 1916 that the Benares Hindu and Mysore universities were established. The others followed in quick succession—Patna, 1917; Osmania, 1918; Aligarh Muslim and Lucknow in 1920; Dacca in 1921; Delhi in 1922; Nagpur in 1923; Andhra in 1926; Agra in 1927; Annamalai in 1929; and Travancore in 1937. The Utkal University was established in Cuttack in 1943, and there are also proposals for establishing universities at Jaipur and Ajmer, in Sind, Maharashtra and in Assam.

* * *

'We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern, a class of persons Indians in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect,' said Macaulay. At one time it seemed as though Macaulay's hopes would be literally realized, for the Indians who came out of the universities seemed thoroughly denationalized, looking with contempt upon Indian languages and Indian culture, almost apologetic for not being Christians, aping everything Western, ambitious of even dreaming dreams in English. But Macaulay builded better than he knew, and it is to the education imparted in the universities and to the fact of many Indians having travelled abroad that we owe the inception and growth of the nationalist movement. The first wave of enthusiasm for Western culture having subsided, there grew up a spirit of national self-respect, under

the influence of which the Indian languages were developed, Indian philosophy was studied, Indian history was re-written, and a wholesome regard for Indian traditions gained strength.

The main functions of a university are the maintenance of high intellectual standards by means of teaching and examining; the encouragement of original research and investigation and addition to human knowledge; the formation of character so that all who come out of a university may bear the stamp of intellectual honesty and moral integrity; the training of youth for their work in life, whether definitely for a vocation or generally for any task that they may be called upon to undertake. No one will claim that our universities have invariably succeeded in performing these functions satisfactorily or in their entirety. But that, within the limitations under which they have been placed, they have justified the hopes of their founders cannot be seriously disputed. What are these limitations? First of all, the older universities were saddled with responsibilities that should not normally fall within the purview of a university. Thus, in the University of Calcutta, in 1940 more than 14,000 candidates passed the Matriculation examination, and about 8,000 the Intermediate examination; in the University of Bombay, in 1938–9 over 3,000 passed the Intermediate examination; in the University of Madras over 3,000 passed the Intermediate examination; in the Punjab University, in 1939–40, over 20,000 candidates passed the Matriculation examination, and about 4,500 the Intermediate examination. This burden of examining schoolboys and students of the pre-university stage must naturally be heavy and prevent whole-hearted concentration on legitimate university work. Secondly, the medium of instruction has all through been English. At one time, this was the medium even in elementary and secondary

schools. For some time now, fortunately, it has been replaced at the pre-university stage by the Indian languages. But at the university English still continues to be the sole medium both for teaching and for examining. I am far from decrying the importance of English. It is now an international language and it must continue to be studied in this country, both because of its global importance and for its own sake as enshrining a noble literature at the springs of which many Indians have drunk deep and from the loftiest strains of which we have derived valuable inspiration. It will be a sad day when we lose the many advantages we have derived from a study of the masters of English; it is to be hoped that no false notions of independence will prevail to force us to give up what during the last seventy-five years we have learnt from them. But educationally, it is entirely unsound that instruction should be imparted through the medium of a foreign and an exceedingly difficult foreign tongue. It stifles original thinking; it involves very severe mental strain. The inevitable tendency is to test a candidate's ability not on the basis of his knowledge and learning but by the skill with which he uses a foreign language. The languages of India must be the media of instruction. There are, of course, practical difficulties: in some provinces, more than one language will have to be employed; this will involve additional expenditure. It will mean also that students and teachers from other provinces will be under a handicap. In the scientific subjects particularly, terminologies will have to be coined. But all these difficulties will soon be overcome and the result will be the freeing of the young intellect from the incubus of thinking and expressing its thoughts in a foreign language. In the third place, the length of residence at a university has been only two academic years, or twenty months. This is altogether inadequate, and university authorities, as indicated in resolutions of Universities' Con-

ferences, are realizing the need and importance of a three-years' degree course. The University of Delhi has, under the energetic leadership of Sir Maurice Gwyer, effected this long-due change, and the situation there will be watched with keen and sympathetic interest by all educationists. In the fourth place, the universities have in the main given little thought to moral and religious education. With the exception of the two denominational universities, the others have left the religious aspect of education severely alone. Lastly, it has to be admitted that very few universities have made any endeavour to relate university education to the needs of the masses and they have, unconsciously, produced a large community which in habits and thought and outlook is separated by a very wide gulf from the vast majority of the people.

During the last fifty years, a great amount of valuable work has been done by the universities. Many Indian scientists have achieved an international reputation. Quite a number have written books on philosophy, economics, political science, history, and other branches of learning which have made a mark. Many university men have devotedly served their mother-tongue and helped to enrich their literature. The universities have supplied to the country politicians and statesmen; administrators; civil servants; judges, jurists, and lawyers; engineers and physicians and surgeons; teachers; agriculturists; business magnates—and a host of others who have an honourable place in society. But change and reform are signs of vitality: only a moribund institution can be content to rest on its oars. Circumstances have altered. Old values are challenged. A change is coming over the spirit of men's dreams, and the universities must adapt themselves to the conditions that are arising. They cannot afford to cut themselves adrift from the rest of the community. They should

remain faithful to their high ideals. Things that are of permanent value—academic freedom; the freedom to seek knowledge and to express frankly the results of patient investigation; the freedom to resist interference from without in the pursuit of learning; the freedom to hold and express opinions; these must be preserved at all costs, or else the universities will fail to justify their existence. But there are certain changes that are desirable and, indeed, inevitable. University education is at present beyond the reach of many brilliant young men, because it is expensive. Whether it can be made cheaper one may question; but it should be the endeavour alike of the state and the university to ensure that no young man of promise who is likely to profit from higher education is deprived of it on financial grounds. Again, the universities must pay more attention to vocational and technical education, without any reduction of the existing facilities for the study of the pure sciences and the humanities. The universities should undertake also Settlement Work, establish literacy centres, have a plan for adult education, and by means of social service associations and leagues get into closer touch with the villages, so that the rest of the community may feel bound and attached to university men and not look upon them, as, alas, they too often do now, as aliens apart and different from themselves. Finally, religion must figure prominently in the curricula. The universities should strive to produce an atmosphere in which crude superstition cannot flourish, moral cruelty cannot be permitted, and social injustice will be a thing of the past. If they can establish harmony in place of discord and order in place of disruption, they will truly be blessed. 'A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity might win all these diligences to join and unite into one general and brotherly search after truth.

ADULT EDUCATION

'From hopes for the regeneration of mankind, one passes to a consideration of practical measures required to realize some quite limited social amelioration.'—Sorel, quoted in *The Art of Being Ruled* by Wyndham Lewis.

THE movement for adult education is a modern phenomenon in social development. Its beginnings can be traced to the closing years of the eighteenth century in Britain and to the first quarter of the nineteenth century in the U.S.A., while in the continental countries like Denmark and Switzerland it became a force much later. In more recent times the Government of Russia have taken in hand the task of promoting adult education with their characteristic vigour. Lately China, Iran and Turkey have also concerned themselves with it.

India's adult education movement has barely entered upon the adolescent stage. In a land where only 120 people out of a thousand are literate, the history of adult education is to be looked for in the future rather than in the past. We need not, therefore, dwell upon the sporadic efforts at promoting adult schools in different parts of this subcontinent under the zealous direction of exceptional officials (such as Sir George Anderson of the Punjab). Most of these efforts miscarried for various reasons and were not followed up. They must rank as 'incidents' in our educational annals.

Growing political consciousness has awakened interest in certain aspects of adult education in India—notably in literacy. The blot of illiteracy, almost equally with the stigma of untouchability, has created a certain emotional 'mind-set' among the more awakened sections of the privileged classes and among politicians. The publication of the Reports of the Simon Commission and the Hartog Com-

mittee and of Miss Mayo's *Mother India*, in the twenties, roused many sensitive souls to a painful awareness of the ignominy of being an illiterate country.

The transfer, in 1937, of considerable power to elected assemblies, whose leaders took office in British Indian provinces, was a landmark in the history of the adult education movement in India and of literacy work. Ministers, moved by patriotic fervour and not altogether unaffected by the desire to do something spectacular to touch the lives of the masses, launched or encouraged literacy campaigns. Governors of provinces, rulers of States, politicians and thousands of humbler but, perhaps, more steady workers in the cause were drawn into a movement which soon assumed national proportions. It was wisely canalized in many areas. It brought together in conference some active workers alive to the necessity of sharing experience and co-ordinating effort. This finally led to the formation of an all-India body, the Indian Adult Education Association. Eight organizations, including the Bengal and Bombay Presidency Adult Education Associations and the South Indian Adult Education Association, are now affiliated to it and others are likely to follow suit.

The Association held an All-India Conference in conjunction with the All-India Educational Conference in Indore in December 1942. Professor Amaranatha Jha, Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University, is the President of the Association, and its central office is located at Indore.

It has pushed forward the organization of adult education in the southern part of the country through a whole-time Organizing Secretary. Similar plans for the north are under consideration.

An all-India organ, *The Indian Journal of Adult Education*, had already started life in December 1939 from the Friends' Settlement, Hoshangabad, C.P. Today it has a representa-

tive Editorial Board and is published six times a year from the Quaker Centre, Karolbagh, Delhi. It serves the interest of a steady, independent and forward-looking movement in India and is already on the approved list of all Indian Government Educational Departments which maintain such lists.

The stimulus and inspiration which Dr F. Laubach, an American who had done pioneer work in the Philippines, brought to the literacy movement in two visits to India deserves special mention. Perhaps he tended to minimize the immensity of our task: single-minded men often do. But he was instrumental in the starting of much enthusiastic and more or less scientific experimentation. His slogan 'Each One Teach One' has not had a fair deal in our tradition-ridden educational world. His book *India Shall be Literate* is an illustration of the virtues as well as the weaknesses of the Laubach approach.

Most provinces and some Indian States have special Literacy or Adult Education Officers or organizations today. Voluntary bodies continue to labour with devotion though often without adequate knowledge and sense of direction. The fact that the percentage of literates has risen from 8 in 1931 to 12 in 1941—the decennium's increase of 15 per cent in the population notwithstanding—is a tribute to the literacy campaigns carried on throughout India.

* * *

A few of the problems, revealed or latent, in the present situation may now be touched upon. At the outset it must be noted that the country has not yet begun to recognize that adult education must occupy a central place in any scheme of India's advance towards self-realization in the comity of nations and that *comprehensive* provision must be made for it. Educational authorities and institutions of higher learning have either taken too narrow a view of their academic responsibilities or have been too complacent to give a lead in

the matter. The Government of India have been either preoccupied with administrative complexities or too little concerned with genuine progress adequately to discharge their responsibilities in the matter. The immensity of the problem has not inspired initiative or persistence on their part. They have remained content to dwell on their difficulties. The beginning made by the Central Advisory Board of Education has been stultified by the consuming passions aroused by the present war. The proposals put forward by them in 1943 require generous revision. Neither the Government nor, indeed, its vociferous political critics have shown any signs of that foresight to which the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India referred on his return from China. The *Hindustan Times* of 1 June 1942 reported:

> An ancient people fired by a proud sense of unity and a zeal to build up a new China, clinging tenaciously to their universities and other centres of education and using them as agencies to build up reserves of brain-power for national reconstruction after the war rather than to prepare manpower for the immediate purposes of the war—that is the outstanding impression brought by Mr John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who returned this morning from his 20-day visit to China.

The second remarkable phenomenon is the confusion in the minds of educational administrators as to the relative value of children's (primary) education and adult education. The two are looked upon as rivals instead of being viewed as complements to each other, which they are. Educational authorities, both official and non-official, too preoccupied with routine and not infrequently harassed by financial insufficiency, find in this confusion an excuse for their inactivity.

Thirdly, the widespread tendency among the privileged classes to dissipate their zeal in unconstructive talk and ill-

planned effort constitutes a serious obstacle to rapid advance. And lastly we must refer to the one-sided development of the labour movement in India. 'Labour', both industrial and agrarian, has failed to pull its weight in the struggle for securing educational facilities for the masses. The Indian labour movement would gain immensely by cherishing educational aspirations which have been a source of strength to the co-operative movement, to peasant organizations and to industrial trade unionism in Western countries; it would also make an abiding contribution to national progress.

Local bodies, with noble exceptions—such as the District Boards of Tanjore and Madura, the Corporations of Bombay and (to a lesser extent) Madras, to name some—have on the whole failed to take advantage of popular enthusiasm. Universities as such have not shown much practical interest. Here again, there are exceptions. The Mysore University has led its students in literacy work through the University Union. The Bangalore University Settlement, where students, under the guidance of a whole-time Warden, are encouraged to do practical social work, is still a unique institution in India. The Bombay University is now considering the implementing of a scheme which was put before it some ten years ago by Sir Rustom Masani. Allahabad has been offering its students facilities for theoretical training in social work mainly through a course of forty extension lectures which it has arranged annually for the last three years, while encouraging the literacy work of its Social Service League. Nagpur has adopted a modest scheme of extension work as a beginning. Extension lectures are to be delivered under its auspices by teachers of university standing in Marathi and Hindi—the two languages most commonly used in its area. Students are to be enlisted in this enterprise and a small amount of money has been sanctioned by the

Executive Council for encouraging needy students to participate in this social effort.

* * *

With the above preliminary considerations in mind we may now take a bird's-eye view of adult education activity in the country. No exhaustive record is possible within one brief section of a short article. I can only indicate the more important types of activity and illustrate them by reference to different parts of the country. It is inevitable that many valuable experiments will find no mention.

Some Figures

Complete figures for adult education work are impossible to obtain, but the following table from the Government of India *Report on Education for the year 1938–39* will be of interest:

SCHOOLS FOR ADULTS, 1938–9

PROVINCE	NO OF SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT
Madras	12	771
Bombay	673	22,095
Bengal	967	28,152
United Provinces	2,689	82,590
Punjab	146	5,201
Bihar	130	2,772
Central Provinces and Berar ...	43	1,714
Assam	13	505
North-West Frontier Province	...	...
Sind	28	659
Orissa	1	26
Coorg	...	...
Delhi	18	230
Ajmer-Merwara	13	268
	4,733	144,983

N.B.—The figures in this table refer to regular schools for adults, and do not include 'classes' started for adults at various centres.

The following extract from a communication from the Travancore Government is also illuminating:

> 'From the point of view of literacy, Travancore takes the highest place in India, the figures being 47·88 per cent; Cochin coming next with 35·43; Delhi 25·7, and Baroda 23·01.
>
> Among the provinces, Madras, Bombay and Bengal have percentages of 13·01, 19·5 and 16·12 respectively.'

A Bird's-eye View

As already mentioned, most British provinces have been giving some attention to adult literacy work. **Assam** has established a separate department under a Mass Literacy Officer with an adequate staff. They have carried on effective work for about two years, and in the autumn of 1941 they planned a comprehensive ring of post-literacy circles. It was announced: 'There will be 1,200 study circles in the Assam Valley and 700 in the Surma Valley. A set of post-literacy readers and fortnightly news-sheets will be supplied to each. Readers, books and periodicals will be issued to the people who have just become literate and to other people. New sets of readers will be supplied to each study circle annually.' This scheme was worked and improved upon, but Japan's entry into the war has interrupted the effort.

Orissa, where the literacy movement and other forms of adult education have failed to grip the imagination of people and of the Government to the same extent as they have done in some other areas, reported 425 adult education centres with a total of 8,147 persons under instruction during 1940–1. The Government could report no appreciable progress in 1942–3, partly owing to abnormal conditions in the province.

In the **Punjab**, the year 1939-40, 'which saw a great expansion of the movement, also gave it a slogan. It is:

"Each one teach one", which rendered into Urdu means: *Parho aur parhao*,' says a Government Report.

During this first year of the five-year plan to eradicate illiteracy, the Punjab Government sanctioned a grant of Rs. 22,800 for the purpose. No less than 308,000 copies of primers in different scripts and 56,000 copies of follow-up literature were purchased by the Education Department. The number of males made literate was 50,799.

Attempts were made to use the old type of regular adult schools and adult centres were also started. The number of adult schools increased to 201 and their enrolment to 6,075. The latest figure for those under instruction is 196,123. Adult centres run in accordance with the Laubach method were conducted through divisional, district, *tehsil* and village literacy leagues with the help of volunteers.

The movement is also gaining ground among women. The Lahore circle has 2,836 centres (with 1,565 adult women), and Rawalpindi reports 700.

The **Bombay** Government were the first to appoint a Provincial Board of Adult Education under a non-official Chairman in 1937. They started with 29 adult literacy classes, and bore all the expenses. Later, however, the Government brought into force a scheme of grants-in-aid. In 1939–40 there were 2,300 classes and 13,200 were made literate. In 1942–3 24,000 adults attended 1,039 classes. Of these 19,600 passed the literacy test. Of the total grant of Rs. 86,000, about Rs. 27,000 was by way of equipment grant. The average cost per literate thus amounted to Rs. 4-8-0 at first.

In view of the heavy cost *per capita*, the Provincial Board recommended a revised rate of grants. This seems to have affected the movement adversely during 1940–41. The Government have, therefore, once again revised their rates and have made a provision of Rs. 1,00,000. Government

spent in 1942–3 Rs. 50,000 for village reading rooms and libraries. Readers, posters and reading sheets were distributed to 140,000 persons.

So far as the liquidation of adult illiteracy in Bombay city is concerned, there is a separate Adult Education Committee with a Special Literacy Officer. During 1940–41 the Committee maintained 1,140 literacy classes for adults in Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Telugu and Tamil. These classes were attended by over 16,000 men and 5,000 women. Of those who appeared for literacy tests, 14,860 were declared to have become literate, while in 1941–2 about 100 post-literacy classes were maintained by the Committee. The Government paid rather more than two-thirds of the Committee's total expenditure of Rs. 64,840.

Sind, under its enthusiastic Education Minister, Khan Bahadur Pir Ilahi Bux, made good progress during the years 1938–40. In 1939 the Government collected and spent Rs. 1,49,017 on a campaign, making 29,995 literates. In May 1942, 1,819 people took and 1,672 passed the final test. In March 1943, 16 permanent night schools had been established.

Bihar, under the leadership of Dr Syed Mahmud, was perhaps the first to set up an effective Provincial Mass Literacy Committee. It was fortunate in possessing for its Secretary Professor B. B. Mukerjee, and the Bihar Inspectorate included steady workers who were prepared to divest themselves of the usual official red-tape traditions and to throw themselves into the movement whole-heartedly. They built up a movement largely *voluntary* in character. Volunteers of their 'Make Your Home Literate' campaign alone made 24,289 literates in 1941–2.

In April 1938, 1,065,821 adults (including 71,744 women) were made literate, and at the end of March 1941, 625,696

were attending post-literacy courses. In 1941–2, 203,394 passed the Literacy Test. In 1942–3, 111,153 received post-literacy instruction. Bihar claims that one of the important results of this movement has been the stimulation of the demand for primary education in the province and the raising of the average daily attendance in the schools of those areas where it has made headway. It has recently produced a set of 20 posters suitable for campaigns and of more than provincial interest. Its adult libraries issued 634,000 books in 1941–2, and 683,332 in 1942–3.

Bengal has entrusted adult education to the Rural Reconstruction Department, and only recently has it been decided that this Department shall hold major responsibility for sponsoring adult education in all its stages. The present Director of the Department, Mr S. M. Ishaque, has devoted himself to an examination of the problems involved with singular zeal, and some remarkable progress has been made in spite of wartime complications in that area.

The above will give some idea of the progress of the literacy movement in some of the British provinces. We may now pause to glance at some of the more advanced Indian States.

The **Mysore** Government have taken a keen interest in literacy work. The Mysore State Literacy Council, a semi-Government body, has a whole-time Organiser and in 1942–3 was paid a special grant of Rs. 80,000 for a literacy campaign in connexion with the rural reconstruction scheme of the State.[1] During this year it made 6,000 adults literate.

The University Union, ably led by the Vice-Chancellor and university teachers, organized Kannada, Urdu, Telugu and Tamil Centres in the summer vacation of 1941 and did a very creditable piece of work. The Mysore University

[1] Normally the Council receives grants from the Government, Municipalities and District Boards and donations from the public.

Settlement, Bangalore, the only body of its kind in India, has been a good training ground for social work under qualified socio-academic leadership.

The State of **Jammu and Kashmir** has been fortunate in having for its Director of Education a catholic educationist. In 1942–3, 54,987 adults received instruction in 4,050 centres and 27,911 became literate. In 1942–3, 480 adult libraries existed in the State, of which 300 were in villages. The average book stock is 200 to 300 books and covers subjects such as health, agriculture, religion and science.

In 1941, 60,169 adults were under instruction in 4,253 centres, while 23,109 persons had been made literate.

The adult literacy campaign in **Baroda** started in 1939. By the end of July 1941, the total number of classes conducted was 1,795. In all, 26,457 adult literates attended these classes and out of them 9,861 have been successful in attaining the literacy standard fixed by the State.

Adult classes conducted in backward areas or in areas of concentrated effort are paid a monthly contingency grant of Rs. 2 to Rs. 4, and over and above this a yearly lump sum of Rs. 50 can be earned under certain conditions.

Higher Education Authorities and Adult Education

It is a matter for regret that, generally speaking, higher education authorities in India have not learnt to discharge their duty by adult education. The best form of extra-mural work done on any considerable scale by universities is to be found in the system of extension lectures, but they generally fail to draw the type of person who is served by adult education departments of universities in the West. Systematic university teaching on the tutorial class level is hardly anywhere attempted under university auspices in India. Indeed, the only organized and systematic tutorial class work is that which began with the enthusiasm of certain

Bombay professors as far back as 1922 and which is now affiliated to the Bombay Adult Education Association. Recently, the Nagpur University has decided to make a beginning with an extra-mural department which may well become the model for a new type of adult education service in Indian universities. The Mysore University adopted but has not enforced the making of ten persons literate as an additional condition for admission to the B.A. and B.Sc. degrees.

Even in the matter of giving guidance in teaching methods, university bodies and Training Colleges have lagged behind in the field of experiment, research and systematization of available knowledge. The running of training classes for adult teachers has been left largely to voluntary agencies and to individuals. Such courses have been held in Ranchi, in Agra, Gorakhpur, Ghaziabad (U.P.), Kharar and Moga (Punjab), and Tuticorin (South India), Bombay city and in many other places. Madras city has a spring-time Laubach Training Centre, organized by the South Indian Adult Education Association. The Bengal Presidency Adult Education Association has from time to time organized short training courses. Christian bodies, particularly through missionary institutions, have rendered yeoman service throughout the country in this matter as also in the matter of faithful experimentation with method. Adult literacy now receives special attention through a Standing Committee of the National Christian Council.

Literature

The problem of providing special literature for adults newly literate in a country where 15 major and 150 minor languages are spoken is a colossal one. Simple libraries and reading rooms have increased throughout India during the

last ten years. In the United Provinces alone 5,382,943 visitors to these were reported in 1941–2.

The Indian Journal of Adult Education has published from time to time articles dealing with available literature in different languages. It has also published graded and annotated bibliographies in the Kanarese, Hindi, Tamil and Punjabi languages. One for Urdu is now available. The Sikh Literacy Association, Amritsar and the Adult Education Department of the Jamia Milia Islamia, Delhi, have rendered useful service to the Gurmukhi and Urdu constituencies respectively.

Various Provincial Christian Councils have led the way in their language areas and have also co-operated with their local authorities in providing both beginners' and follow-up literature.

Voluntary Agencies

The interest that the Government have shown in recent years in adult education generally and literacy work in particular has brought into existence a great many voluntary organizations throughout the country. Their enthusiasm often outstrips their organizing ability and their capacity for sustained work. Many of them, however, render invaluable service both to the cause of adult education and as training grounds in social work for the privileged classes. Special mention must be made in this connexion of students' organizations which have undertaken, in many parts of the country (e.g. Madras city, the Surma Valley in Assam, and Delhi), intensive campaigns and have carried them through to a successful conclusion. Students in Bihar and to a lesser extent in the Madras University have taken a good share in literacy campaigns. In South India, particularly in the Andhra country, college students and their teachers took a good deal of interest in peasant classes organized by some leaders of the labour movement. They held schools in which

systematic and sustained teaching was given. They managed to rouse, however, the suspicions of the Madras Government, who have passed orders that no adult training school or class shall be held unless the promoters have obtained a permit from the District Magistrate to do so. This has been a most discouraging feature in the history of adult education work in the south.

Conclusion

The preceding section has sought to present a brief account of the various types of activity in the adult education field in India. This account will have shown that though we have to make use of the literacy movement and all its enthusiasm, *we need constantly to remind the country that literacy does not constitute adult education*, but is only one of the important means of furthering it. It will also be clear that universities and Local Bodies need to give special attention to this vast field of service. Each university and each Local Body should have a special officer charged with the duty to sponsor and direct adult education. This, however, is not likely to come on a general scale unless our Provincial Governments appoint competent men of the rank of Deputy Directors of Education as Adult Education Officers. This again is hardly likely to happen till our elected representatives, our Education Officers and our Governments realize that the problem of this country's literacy, let alone its ignorance, cannot be solved by compulsory primary education alone. The study which Mr S. R. Bhagwat, Chairman of the Bombay Board of Adult Education, has made of the enlightened city of Poona in this connexion should prove an eye-opener to all concerned. He has established that after ten years of compulsory primary education in Poona, the percentage of literacy cannot be said to have risen appreciably.

Has the Central Government a duty in this nation-building matter? I believe it has. It must give a lead to the Provincial Governments; for no one else can. It must show them that this is a big piece of work which needs to be viewed in a big way. It must produce literature which will awaken the provinces to the possibilities of adult education. It must make available to them in readable form the experience of other countries in so far as it is applicable to India. And last but not least, it must make up its mind to encourage voluntary bodies with grants-in-aid administered under an adequate set of rules drawn up in a broad spirit of educational realism. It should keep before the country the truth that for the success of democratic self-governing institutions, a land so large as India must have a population which can be called educated, that the need for educating our masters is as great in India today as it was in Disraeli's England.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

THERE has been a general feeling that education in this country is too literary, that far too many young men are being educated for academic or clerical occupations, that provision for vocational education has been very small, and that schools and colleges have paid little attention to the needs of industry. Higher education in particular has been subject to such criticism by those interested in industrial development. Even in the comparatively highly industrialized province of Bombay, there were in 1941–2 only 264 graduates in the Faculty of Technology: 192 in Engineering, 20 in Chemical Technology and 52 in Agriculture, the total number of graduates being 5,100. It will be noted incidentally that the

University of Bombay does not yet offer degree courses in textile manufacture, which constitutes the premier industry of the province. Our backwardness in technical education is part of the larger political problem. For generations the main object of education in the lower stages was to secure a minimum of literacy and in the higher stages to make such literacy more advanced and competent from the point of view of governmental needs. In the absence of a positive and vigorous policy of planned and large-scale industrialization, any progress in technical education was until recently of a sporadic and casual character.

Historical

In their Dispatch on education in 1854 the Court of Directors of the East India Company asked the Government of India to consider how useful and practical knowledge suited to every standard of life could be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, but the creation of the first institutions in India imparting vocational training was directly concerned with the needs of the Public Works and other Government Departments. Four engineering colleges at Roorkee, Poona, Madras and Calcutta were established between 1856 and 1858, and these offer degree courses in Civil, Mechanical, and Electrical Engineering, besides diploma and other courses for lower grades of employment in Government and other engineering departments. More engineering colleges at Benares, Lahore, Karachi, Patna, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Trivandrum and elsewhere have since come into existence. With a munificent endowment from the late J. N. Tata, the Indian Institute of Science was opened in 1911 for post-graduate teaching and research in pure and applied chemistry, biochemistry and electrical technology. Departments of applied chemistry or chemical technology have now been instituted in several of the universities, the largest and best-

equipped being the Department of Chemical Technology of the Bombay University, which has at present two sections of Textile Chemistry and Chemical Engineering and will shortly have additional sections of 'Intermediates and Dyes', 'Pharmaceuticals and Fine Chemicals', 'Plastics, Paints and Varnishes', 'Oils, Fats and Soaps', and 'Foods and Drugs'. The Harcourt Butler Technological Institute and the Imperial Institute of Sugar Technology at Cawnpore carry out post-graduate teaching and research in oil technology and sugar technology.

Technical Institutes

It is usual to classify industrial workers as belonging to three grades: directing or managerial, supervisory (foremen, chargehands, etc.) and operative (skilled and semi-skilled workmen). The number of persons of the first grade is necessarily very small in an industrial undertaking and, while a multiplication and expansion of technical colleges, such as those mentioned, will be desirable for meeting the growing need for specialists, the training of men who would occupy the directing positions in industry is receiving more or less adequate attention. Turning to the education of men in the second category, there have been notable developments during the last fifty years. Technical training of a standard lower than the usual university degree requirements, but of a more practical character, is available in several institutes spread over the country, such as the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in Bombay, the Kala Bhavan Technical Institute at Baroda, the Government Central Textile Institute and Leather Working School at Cawnpore, the Central Wood Working Institute at Bareilly, the Textile Institutes at Serampore and Bangalore, and the Government Dyeing School at Shahdara near Lahore. The Delhi Polytechnic is the latest addition to the list, representing the

implementation of one of the major recommendations in the Abbott-Wood Report (1937). The products of these institutions have rendered valuable service in industry, have demonstrated that the Indian student trained in school or college can do manual work and stand the monotony and drudgery of factory life, and have dispelled the mistaken notion of industrial employers that the educated Indian youth will not take his coat off and get down to a job of work. Training in an academic institution, however well equipped it may be, can only be preparatory; it can lay no claim to produce experts who can immediately proceed to take charge of plant and processes. Apprenticeship in a factory for a few months as part of the requirements for a degree or diploma gives an insight into industrial operations, but 'sandwich' or co-operative systems, in which the student alternates between the technical institute and the factory, may be adopted with advantage. The training in works should be so planned that it has educational value and is closely correlated with the theoretical instruction imparted in the institute.

Industrial Schools and Junior Technical Institutes

The primary object of industrial schools is to train skilled craftsmen for minor or cottage industries like weaving, carving, leather work, metal work and wood work, while the institutions for training skilled workmen for organized industry may be classified as junior technical institutes. There is, however, no sharp distinction in scope or functions. Many schools and institutes of this type have been created and are in general doing useful work. In the province of Bombay alone, there are over 80 technical institutions catering for a very wide variety of industrial occupations. Since the Abbott-Wood Report has dealt in detail with junior-grade vocational education, it would suffice to indicate within the

brief compass of this note the problems which appear to us to need urgent examination.

The relative positions of cottage and large-scale industries must be submitted to close scrutiny in their relation to technical education. Having regard to the fact that the agricultural population is not fully occupied for nearly half the year and that the handicrafts which constitute a part of the national tradition of art and craft deserve every encouragement, there must be provision for sound and effective technical education which will enable the cottage worker to obtain the maximum return for his labour. The methods in vogue in France and Japan may be taken into account. On the other hand, the limitations of small-scale industries in a competitive world must not be overlooked.

Standardization and Size of Training Units

We have too many schools and colleges undertaking technical education in comparison with the number of pupils trained, the subjects studied and the total expenditure. It is very desirable that there should be more 'doing' and less 'learning' in schools and colleges, and if workshop practice or machine drawing is introduced as an addition to existing courses of instruction on account of the intrinsic educational value of such training, it is a step in the right direction; but it is an entirely different matter for a school or college, normally equipped for teaching the ordinary arts and science courses, to set up a 'technical institute' as a new and separate department and offer a diploma in a single and very limited branch of technology. The general awakening in the country regarding industrial development has led some of the colleges in Bombay, for instance, to embark on technical education in this manner in their desire to keep abreast of industrial progress and to open wider avenues of employment for their students. In the long run the multiplication of such 'techni-

cal institutions' will have an adverse effect on technical education in general. This is equally true, and for very similar reasons, of the numerous technical and vocational schools and institutes which are being created, and which in many cases have provision for training only a small number of students in a single and strictly circumscribed vocation. Their finances are usually poor, and so in consequence must be their facilities by way of staff and equipment. In the province of Bombay, for instance, the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute with its excellent laboratories, workshops and staff is at one end of the scale, and there is a sharp decline as one proceeds to the other institutions, and even among the latter as a class there is a wide variation in standards. Controlling bodies, such as the Committee of Direction for Technical Education in Bombay, might be able to effect some measure of standardization, but the real remedy is to overhaul the entire system. A polytechnic has many advantages over a monotechnic, although the latter may be occasionally justified for purposes of intensive specialization in an industry of major importance (e.g. textiles). The reasons are so many that only a brief indication is possible here. The various branches of technology have essential correlations, and the utmost efficiency in training and economy in expenditure can only be obtained by limiting the number of institutions in a large area and by each of these providing for training in as many technical subjects as possible. Narrow specialization may be necessary in the more advanced stages and during actual employment in industry, but the general training must be broad-based on a fundamental knowledge of science and engineering. Apart from this need for a substantial part of the training being common for all technicians, irrespective of the particular industrial occupation they propose to pursue later, a great polytechnic has the ideal environment and

atmosphere for the education of boys who are later to enter an organized industry and also to be good citizens. Technical education should not be merely regarded as the mechanism by which a boy is trained for employment, but as a process by which he is fitted for a certain way of life in which, in addition to technical knowledge of a chosen craft or manufacture, he has to exhibit personal qualities of honesty, patience, courage and the ability to work in happy comradeship with varied types of men and women. There should also be opportunities for developing initiative and the other characteristics that might enable the few having natural advantages to rise to positions of leadership in industry.

By means of evening classes or part-time work during the day by arrangement with factory managers, it should be possible for operatives and technicians, who are earning their livelihood, to improve their technical knowledge and qualifications so that they may aspire to move higher from grade to grade. A feature of our educational system is its rigidity and, so far as technical education is concerned, there should be as far as practicable a continuous and unbroken chain from elementary technical training to the most advanced stages of technological education. If there are alternative doors of admission to courses of study, leading to 'external' degrees or diplomas, persons who are compelled to take up industrial employment early in life for economic reasons, but have ability and ambition, would not suffer from a sense of frustration and denied opportunities.

Vocational Guidance

At each successive stage of school and college education a student is faced with the problem of the next step he has to take, and he tends to follow the line of least resistance. He often drifts from one stage to what is nearest at hand, and is left without guidance on the occasions of his life when he

most needs it. If the industrial employer is to obtain workers who are appropriate to their tasks by virtue of temperament and training, such vocational selection would only be possible if the future recruits to his industry had the necessary vocational guidance. Greater publicity regarding the industries in the neighbourhood, the openings likely to be offered, the nature of the work in each case, and the facilities for training that are available is a desideratum. Close and continual contact between headmasters of schools, the heads of technical institutions and industrial employers is also necessary.

General Education

The foundation on which the entire structure of technical education, whether it is of the operative, supervisory or managerial grade, is to be built is elementary general education, and this is without doubt unsound and inadequate. Primary and secondary school education in the country needs revision, reorganization, and all-round improvement. With the remuneration of our primary schoolmasters being not infrequently lower than that of domestic servants, the profession has no permanent attraction for men with the requisite qualities. No reflection is intended on the vast body of men who are rendering important national service under difficult circumstances, but not even the best of them can put his heart into his work or resist the temptation to take the first opportunity of changing his profession to one which gives him a living wage. Other aspects of primary school education, such as the advantages of staffing infant classes by trained women, the excessive time spent in 'immobile study' and the mistaken concentration on mere literacy, have been discussed in the Abbott-Wood Report, and call for careful consideration.

The Teaching of English

After Lord Macaulay's famous Minute, English was for a century the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. More recently the drawbacks in learning art and science through a foreign language have been realized, and in most provinces teaching up to the fourth or fifth standard is in the regional language; it is also open to a candidate for the Matriculation to take his examinations in his own language or in English. The teaching of English itself continues, however, to be extremely unsatisfactory. Taught by men who have been brought up on a similar irrational and top-heavy system, students at school and college wade through Goldsmith, Carlyle, Shakespeare, Milton and Keats, and at the end of it are usually unable to write a few sentences of simple, clear and correct English. One is forced to conclude that the essential object of the prevailing system of English teaching is the deliberate production of *babus*. Although one may regard as too sweeping Mahatma Gandhi's condemnation that English education has emasculated us, constrained our intellect, and the manner of imparting this education has rendered us effeminate, no process in our educational technique is so wasteful as the teaching of English, and drastic reform is urgently needed. The inability to express ideas and results in a brief and businesslike manner has been a serious handicap for the Indian technician. After two or three years of study it should surely be possible to have a good working knowledge of English, adequate for the purposes of technical employment.

Scientific and Technical Terminology in the Indian Languages

If technical education is to be really widespread and to conform to the needs of industry, the problem of teaching technical subjects in the modern Indian languages should be

solved without further delay. Although the question has been receiving some attention for over a century, the earliest attempt to lay down principles for a scientific terminology in an Indian language having been made as far back as 1830 by the Translation Society of the old Delhi College, no scheme embracing the whole of the country and all the regional languages has yet been adopted. There are at least three schools of thought in this matter: (i) wholesale adoption of English terminology in all scientific writings in all Indian languages; (ii) inclusion of a limited vocabulary of basic and internationally accepted words and expressions in their English forms, and the use, with fresh coining if necessary, of suitable equivalents in the various languages; and (iii) with the exception of recognized international nomenclature and notation (as in chemistry or botany), the adoption of entirely indigenous systems of terminology, which may be two or three in number, dividing the Indian languages into two or three groups, such as Indo-Aryan and Dravidian; or Sanskritic, Perso-Arabic and Dravidian. Schemes involving modifications and compromises have also been suggested. We have given no special thought to this subject, but after a perusal of the Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1940, we are inclined to favour the procedure now adopted in the Osmania University. Briefly, it would involve our borrowing the essential international elements of scientific terminology from English, and the evolution, making the fullest use of current and commonly understood expressions, of a national scientific terminology. Until such time as we have a single national language, the latter must exist in two or three forms represented by the two or three main groups into which our languages may be divided. What we wish to urge here is the urgent need for concrete action in this regard. As a result of the war and as part of the rising tide of national consciousness, our industries are

bound to expand in the immediate future, but the ultimate chances of their survival in the face of world competition will depend on the increased efficiency of the operative grade of industrial workers more perhaps than on any other single factor. Survival will only be possible if industrial labour, down to the lowest grade, has a certain minimum of general education and scientific knowledge with special reference to the relevant industry, for which in turn the existence of text-books and teaching facilities in the major Indian languages is essential.

Technical Education, Industry and the State

While there has been in recent years some progress in technical education, specially in its more advanced technological aspects, the main defect is the lack of a planned and co-ordinated effort on the part of the three agencies concerned — educational authorities, industry and the state. Industrial development has been slow, halting and haphazard. The basic or key industries, such as the heavy chemical, coal-tar, chemical plant and engineering industries, have not advanced on a scale commensurate with our requirements or our national resources. To limit technical education to the exact demands of industry at a given time would be to take too narrow a view of the aim and scope of technical education; on the other hand there is little to be gained by training for unemployment, in whose wake will follow discontent and demoralization. It is a vicious circle, from which the only escape is a realization of the organic relations between industry, education and the state. Our model must be Russia, whose position when the Soviet Government took over was in many ways very similar to ours at the present time. The three five-year plans and the methods by which science, industry, education and the state were integrated (cf. Edelmann, *How Russia Prepared*; Crowther,

Science in Soviet Russia, etc.) must be studied and adopted with such modifications as may be necessary to suit our special conditions. At the end of the second five-year plan in 1937, large-scale industry in Russia had attained over 400 per cent of the 1929 output. In the third five-year plan, interrupted by the war, there was further expansion in the technical reconstruction of the national economy, improvement in the organization and technology of production, extensive introduction of scientific discoveries and inventions, strengthening of labour discipline, and high labour productivity. An extensive system of schools and training courses for workers and technicians was promoted, and provision was made for the graduation of 14,000,000 technicians and 600,000 specialists. Measures were taken for raising the level of the cultural and technical education of workers to that of engineers and technicians. Universal secondary education was to be introduced in the cities, and universal junior secondary education (seven years), accompanied by an extension to ten years of secondary education, in rural areas. In the scale and intensity of the organized effort made in Russia, she has been in advance of other countries, and nowhere has there been such effective integration of industry, technical education and the state. The growth of technical education in this country must similarly be a part of social, economic and political planning, if the standard of living of the mass of the population is to be raised within a reasonable time to the minimum of civilized existence.

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RATHER more than a century and a half ago, in 1783, King George III summoned a young man of twenty-four to be Prime Minister of England. His name was William Pitt, and the whole country as well as the King wished him success, for the older men who had ruled the country before him had failed dismally. They had foolishly quarrelled with the American Colonies and lost the war that followed. Supported by France and Spain, the colonies broke away from their mother country, and England's reputation sank very low. The nation had grown so weary of the failures and quarrels of its statesmen that it now looked with great hope to the young William Pitt, perhaps because he was the son of the famous William Pitt who less than twenty years before had led England so gloriously through the great Seven Years War with France.

One summer's day, a few years after he became Prime Minister, the young William Pitt sat talking with a friend beneath an old tree on a hillside not far from his country home. This friend, who was the same age as Pitt, was a young Member of Parliament named William Wilberforce. At this time he was tired of the gay life he had been living. He did very little in Parliament. So now he was

seeking the advice of his closest friend, the Prime Minister.

'Wilberforce,' said Pitt, 'why don't you set out to destroy the Slave Trade?'

In giving this advice, Pitt showed how well he knew his friend. An ardent Christian, Wilberforce longed not merely for a successful career in politics, but for a career which would be of great use to all men. Nothing was more likely to appeal to him than the cause of the slaves.

Yet Pitt could not have offered his friend a more difficult task, for the Prime Minister had himself learned how powerful were the wealthy slave traders when he had pleaded in the House of Commons for an Act to check the cruelties suffered by the slaves. He realized that it would need a tremendous struggle to abolish the Slave Trade entirely. But Pitt was wise enough to see that nothing but complete abolition of the whole trade would help the slaves. This was the task he set before Wilberforce, and he knew his friend would never rest until the Slave Trade and slavery itself were no more.

Indeed, William Wilberforce was perhaps the only man in England who was at once able and eager enough to take up the fight against the Slave Trade. Born on 24 August 1759, at Hull in Yorkshire, he soon revealed what his career was going to be. Though delicate and but slight in figure, he possessed a powerful and musical voice that delighted all his hearers. At school his teacher

used to make him stand on a table and sing or recite to the rest of the school. A born orator, he soon set his heart on a career in politics. Even as a boy, he had written a letter to a newspaper attacking the horrors of the Slave Trade.

William Wilberforce grew up to be a gay and idle young man. His father was a successful merchant and sent his son to finish his education at Cambridge. But the young Wilberforce believed himself too clever to need to study, and set out to have a good time. It was at Cambridge that he first met William Pitt, then a clever and industrious student, far too busy to take much interest in the frivolous young Wilberforce.

But when Pitt and Wilberforce left Cambridge and went to London to begin their career in politics they soon became close friends. Night after night they would sit together in the gallery of the House of Commons, listening to the debates and dreaming of the time when they too would make great speeches in the House.

The two young men were filled with great ambitions and were determined to make the most of life. The society they moved in was the gayest and most fashionable in London. Almost every night when they were not at the House of Commons they were guests at some great ball or party. Wilberforce was especially popular at these because of his beautiful singing and because he could mimic the great men of the day. Often he would imitate Lord North, who was then Prime Minister,

or Charles James Fox, the orator, so cleverly that even their friends had to laugh. But one day some one told him that his skill as a mimic might be dangerous to his career in politics, and he at once gave it up.

Wilberforce was very popular in his native town, Hull. His father was a great man there, and his grandfather had been twice mayor. Moreover, the young man's wonderful voice, his great eloquence and his charming ways, endeared him to all the townsmen. No wonder that when he came of age and stood for election as Member of Parliament for Hull he won his seat with ease. Not long afterwards a vast crowd of Yorkshiremen gathered in the Castle Yard at York and heard Wilberforce make a great speech in defence of Pitt, who had just become Prime Minister. So impressed were the Yorkshiremen by his eloquence and courage that they said, 'We must have this young man for our county member'. And so Wilberforce became a Member of Parliament for the great county of Yorkshire, and at twenty-five he was one of the most powerful men in Parliament.

Bent on preparing himself for a great career, Wilberforce travelled widely. Three times he toured Europe. The first time he went in company with William Pitt. Wherever they went they found a great welcome. They were even invited by Louis XVI to the luxurious French Court at Versailles. But this tour was cut short when Pitt had to hurry back to England where Lord North

had fallen from power. Soon after this Pitt became Prime Minister, and his happy carefree days with Wilberforce were over. But Wilberforce continued to travel and twice toured the continent with the brother of his schoolmaster at Hull. It was this man who during their long coach rides in France and Italy set Wilberforce thinking seriously about the use he was making of his own life. Soon he began to see that he was wasting his fine opportunities of working for some great and noble cause. He was haunted by a sense of his own sin, and not all the pleasures of the great cities he visited in Europe could dispel his feeling that he was unworthy. He took to reading the Bible regularly and in its teaching found the way out of his troubles. He resolved to live a more useful and truly Christian life.

For his first few years as a Member of Parliament Wilberforce had spoken very little in the debates and had been content to follow Pitt. But before long the new and more serious Wilberforce met the men who were starting a campaign to abolish the Slave Trade. About this time, too, he met some of the followers of the great John Wesley, the famous religious reformer, then a very old man. Their influence strengthened his resolve to devote his life to religion and to a career that would be of service to his fellow men. And no men needed a champion more than the negroes who were sold into slavery. It did not take Wilberforce long to decide that buying and selling slaves,

however profitable to England, was a disgrace to a great nation.

So it was that on that summer's day when Pitt advised Wilberforce to take up the cause of the slaves, he did not need to plead with him to join those who were already fighting against the Slave Trade.

Men and women in England and America had long been saying that the trade in negro slaves was an evil which should be stopped, but William Wilberforce was the first statesman to devote his whole career to the cause of the negroes. The trade began in the days of Queen Elizabeth when the daring English seaman, Sir John Hawkins, in 1563 landed in Sierra Leone, carried off some 200 negroes, and sold them for slaves to the Spaniards in the West Indies. Even then men said it was an evil and un-Christian deed, but the trade continued. Later, in the seventeenth century, the Quakers, who called themselves the Society of Friends and preached a simple form of Christianity, protested against the Slave Trade, saying that no Christian ought to take any part in it. In America it was the Quakers who led the campaign against the slave-owners. In England the cause was taken up by Granville Sharp, who adopted a runaway slave in London. When the owner prosecuted him, he appealed to the Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Mansfield, who declared that a slave became free as soon as he set foot on English soil. Thus Englishmen were

beginning to think that slavery everywhere was wrong, even before Wilberforce took up the fight against the Slave Trade.

Wilberforce knew that it was not enough just to wish for the end of slavery. Something had to be done. So he set to work to find out all he could about the Slave Trade so that he could reveal all the horrible facts to Parliament. It was because Parliament and the country as a whole did not know of the way the negroes were treated, he thought, that nothing was done. Once Parliament knew the truth, it would instantly abolish the trade. He little knew the struggle his aim would require.

If there was one man in England who knew everything about the Slave Trade it was Thomas Clarkson. While a student at Cambridge Clarkson had won a prize for an essay on 'Slavery'. As he rode home to London with his prize, he thought so much of the plight of the slaves that he resolved to devote his life to their cause. With a small band of friends he set to work to learn all about the Slave Trade and the life of the slaves on tea and cotton plantations. For years he and his friends carried on this anti-slavery campaign, and slowly England began to learn of the sufferings endured by the negroes in the West Indian and American plantations.

When Clarkson heard that Wilberforce, the Prime Minister's closest friend, was about to take up the cause of the slaves, he gladly hastened to give

him facts and figures for his speeches in the House of Commons.

About this time, 1787, English traders every year captured some 38,000 negroes from the Guinea coast of Africa and shipped them to toil as slaves on the vast cotton and sugar plantations of Virginia and the West Indies. Not that it was only the English who carried on this trade. A further 36,000 negroes were seized every year by French, Portuguese, Dutch and Danish traders.

Every year from the great ports of London, Liverpool and Bristol, ships would sail laden with trinkets and brandy. These things the captains would barter with the negro chiefs in return for batches of men, women and even children captured in war with other chiefs. Sometimes the captain of a slaving vessel would land his crew on the West African coast, raid a village near-by and carry off all its inhabitants.

But it was on the voyage to the West Indies, the 'Middle Passage' as it was called, that the captive negroes suffered most. Wrenched from their homes, they were fettered in pairs, driven on board ship, and packed so closely on narrow shelves in the hold that they scarcely had room to lie flat. Once a day they were taken on deck and made to dance for exercise. In rough weather they were kept below. If one of them managed to escape, he would leap into the sea to end his sufferings. Others fell sick, and even died, from the bad food, the terrible heat, or from the cruelty

of the captain or his crew. Often as many as a quarter of the slaves died on the dreadful Middle Passage.

Those who survived the voyage found themselves in slave markets in the West Indies or the Southern States of America. There they would be sold for the best price they would fetch, perhaps even £40. Most would be sold to tea and cotton planters who would set them to work on their vast plantations. Hour upon hour and day after day they would be forced to toil at picking tea or cotton in the fierce sun. If they were slack, they soon felt the foreman's lash, and many foremen were hard and brutal men. Often slaves died under the lash, but a slave was cheap and nobody cared. Perhaps if a slave were fortunate, he would be bought by a master who would treat him kindly, but still he was always a slave and would never be a free man.

All these things, together with many ghastly stories of the sufferings of the slaves, Wilberforce learned from Clarkson. Not many Englishmen knew how horrible the Slave Trade was. All they knew was that it earned them a great deal of money. It had made Liverpool alone a great and wealthy city.

But slowly Clarkson's campaign and Wilberforce's speeches in the House of Commons taught the English people that they were growing rich on the sufferings of slaves. To obtain details for Wilberforce's speeches, Clarkson travelled all over

England, visiting all the great ports. He would question the captains of slave ships, examine the slaves' quarters on their vessels, call on the West Indian planters who visited England to find out how they treated their slaves ; and always he would be telling those he met that it was England's duty to put an end to the trade.

Soon others joined the anti-slavery campaign. Most of them were religious men—Quakers and the followers of John Wesley. Others were champions of liberty, such as Charles James Fox, the famous orator and statesman, who demanded freedom not merely for English people but for all men.

While Clarkson was in Liverpool collecting evidence for Wilberforce, he heard that the slave traders and owners were growing anxious about the campaign against slavery. Some of them in Liverpool set men to follow Clarkson, and once a gang of roughs tried to jostle him off the quayside into the sea. But it needed more than threats or violence to daunt Clarkson and Wilberforce.

In Parliament, too, Wilberforce found that many men would not hear of abolishing the Slave Trade. In spite of his moving speeches revealing its horrors, they could not forget that the Slave Trade had made many men rich. It was risky, they said, to abolish the trade, for then there would be no one to work on the tea and cotton plantations. Besides, it might encourage the freed slaves to

rebel against their masters. And so Wilberforce's eloquent pleadings fell on deaf ears.

So strong and wealthy were the supporters of the Slave Trade that for twenty years they were able to prevent Wilberforce and his friends from freeing the slaves from their sufferings. In 1789, two years after Wilberforce first took up the cause of the slaves, the French Revolution broke out, and in 1793 England found herself at war with France. The nation was too much afraid of a revolution at home and too busy with the war abroad to think of the slaves. Yet Wilberforce and Clarkson continued to make speeches and publish pamphlets all over the country appealing for justice for the negroes. Nearly every year for twenty years Wilberforce pleaded in Parliament for the abolition of the Slave Trade. Time after time his Bill of Emancipation was rejected, but these failures merely spurred him on to fresh efforts. He knew that one day victory would be his.

Though Pitt had given Wilberforce full support from the day he suggested that he should take up the struggle, affairs of state had made it more and more difficult for the Prime Minister to help him in Parliament. In Europe the armies of Napoleon were everywhere victorious, and only Nelson by his glorious victory at Trafalgar in 1805 saved England from invasion. At home Pitt threw all his energy into raising money and men for the war which dragged on year after year. Men began to

grow discontented, for bad harvests in those years made food scarce, and the war made people poor. All these troubles and Napoleon's victories made the great Prime Minister old before his time. Eager as he was to end slavery, he found but little strength or time to help Wilberforce. His one thought was to save England from Napoleon, and in this task he wore himself out.

It was soon after Pitt had died suddenly in 1806 that Wilberforce at last found victory in sight—just when he was full of grief at the loss of his dearest friend. For Charles James Fox, the new Prime Minister, who had always supported the cause of the slaves, at once took up the fight with great energy. In 1807 Wilberforce once more spoke in the House of Commons for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and the success of his great labours in past years soon appeared. For this time the whole House was on his side. In that same year, 1807, the Slave Trade was abolished throughout the British Empire. By 1818 England had persuaded the other nations who had carried on the Trade to abandon it, and with the British Fleet guarding the shores of Africa no slaving vessel dared put to sea. When the Act of Abolition was passed by the House of Commons, one member truly said that Wilberforce had triumphed more gloriously than the Emperor Napoleon, then at the height of his power.

But the end was not yet. The Slave Trade was dead, but slavery still lived. And while there was

slavery, Wilberforce could not rest content. Soon he was once more pleading in the House of Commons, this time for the liberation of all slaves throughout the British Empire. Once again he met with enemies. Planters in the West Indies protested that, if their slaves were emancipated, they would be ruined, for the freed negroes would refuse to work. In England, men said that while the country was at war with Napoleon, they could not afford to risk trouble in the West Indies by setting free the slaves. Some even suggested that the slaves wanted to remain slaves. So once more the years crept on, and Wilberforce had to plead again and again before Parliament would even listen to him. The war with France ended in 1815, but still he could not bring about his reform.

Wilberforce was now growing old. He had never been strong, and he could no longer work and speak with his former vigour. Generously, he decided to hand over the leadership of the cause of the slaves to a younger man, who could be in closer touch with the chief men of the time. The man he chose was Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, an ardent supporter of the cause and, like Wilberforce, a great orator. It was this man, who in 1833 at last caused to be passed the great Act of Emancipation which ordered that at midnight 31 July 1834, the 800,000 slaves in the British Empire should be set free.

At that time a very old man, Wilberforce lived just long enough to hear of the passing of the Act

which freed the slaves. Shortly before he died, messengers came from the House of Commons to tell him that the Act was passed. 'Thank God!' he cried, 'Thank God that I have lived to see this day!' It was his last great triumph. Worn out by his labours on behalf of the slaves, he died on 29 July 1833. A few days later he was buried in Westminster Abbey, not far from the grave of his friend, William Pitt.

Through the work of William Wilberforce no man in the British Empire could be made a slave. Soon other nations followed the example of England. In 1865 Abraham Lincoln, the famous American President, set free the thousands of negro slaves of the Southern States of America. It was the crowning touch to the life work of William Wilberforce, liberator of slaves.

SIR ROBERT PEEL

PRIME Minister of England! What does that coveted title mean? Under the King the Prime Minister is the ruler of England and the Empire. He is the man who chooses the members of the government, the Ministers of the Crown, and he dismisses them when he thinks fit. He guides and controls the ministers in his service, and it is their duty to obey him or resign. His word is final in all the public affairs of the nation—but only so long as Parliament supports him. If he acts against the wishes of Parliament, and a majority of its members vote against him, he must resign his office. But so long as Parliament keeps him in office he controls the destiny of the nation.

For over two centuries now there have been Prime Ministers of England. Most of the early Prime Ministers thought it was their duty merely to govern the country. They believed that their task was to keep peace and order at home, while abroad the national prestige must not be lowered. If the nation went to war it was their duty to guide it to a speedy and profitable victory. At all costs they must remain in power as long as possible. But there came a Prime Minister who believed it his duty to do more than all this. Not only had he to govern the people, he must also look after

their welfare. It was his task to make their lives happier and more secure, to help them in the fight against poverty, crime and injustice. The nation must be wealthy as well as powerful, well-fed as well as at peace, and contented as well as honoured. It must have good laws, wise judges, a strong police force, and plenty of schools. The first Prime Minister to look after the welfare of the people in this way was Sir Robert Peel.

Sir Robert Peel was a man of the people. He did not belong to any of the noble families from whom Prime Ministers were generally chosen. His father and grandfather had grown wealthy as cotton manufacturers. Peel's aristocratic enemies would often jeer at his humble birth, calling him 'Spinning Jenny'. There came a time when they had to admit that he was a greater man than any of them. At a time when merchants and industrial magnates were rapidly becoming more important than great landowners and nobles, it was fitting that the Prime Minister of England should be a man whose ancestors were men of business.

'A good boy, of gentle manners, by choice seeking older rather than younger companions, shrinking from all rudeness or coarseness, praised by the old and therefore not over-popular with the young'—thus did Peel's cousin describe the future Prime Minister at school. He was a fair-haired, blue-eyed, cheerful boy, good tempered and rather lazy. His great shyness was the first thing people noticed in him. So easily was he hurt that often

he would walk a mile out of his way to avoid the jeers and laughter of the boys of Bury, the town where he was born on 7 February 1788. Because he was shy and silent, men later said he was haughty and ambitious. Yet in truth few great men have been kinder and more eager to please both friends and enemies.

From his earliest days Sir Robert Peel was destined to be a statesman. His father had not been content merely to be a successful and wealthy manufacturer. He had entered public life and got himself elected to Parliament, where he became the champion of the apprentices in the cotton mills. Knowing how hard was their life, he obtained a law to shorten their hours of work in the mills. He was determined that his wealth and success should profit the whole nation as well as himself and his family; so he resolved that his eldest son, Robert, should become a statesman. His hopes showed early signs of being realized. For young Robert Peel was a remarkably clever boy. He learned swiftly and well, and soon revealed a gift for oratory. Those were the days of very long, dull sermons at church on Sundays; and many a time the boy would be stood on a chair when he came home from church, and ordered to repeat the sermon. This he would do with ease and enjoyment—and sometimes with more eloquence than the parson. In 1801 his father sent him to Harrow, where he was in the same class as Lord Byron, the poet. Success came easily to him, yet he

worked hard and enjoyed a reputation for industry. But he was never a bookworm. If he avoided cricket and football at school, it was because his favourite sport was shooting.

Peel's next success was at Christ Church College, Oxford, where he was awarded first class honours in mathematics and classics. At the age of 22 he was ready to make his career and a name in the world. In 1809, helped by his father, he was elected to a seat in the House of Commons. Shy as he was by nature, he wasted no time before he made his maiden speech. Before the time came he wrote out every word of his speech, and thus was able to speak for 40 minutes without a sign of shyness. He was soon marked down as a promising young man and in less than a year he was rewarded with a junior post in the government.

So far Peel owed everything to his father. His education, his seat in Parliament, even his post in the government had been found by Sir Robert Peel the elder. But from this moment young Robert Peel's rapid and brilliant success was due entirely to his own efforts and ability. In 1812 he was appointed Chief Secretary in Ireland, a difficult and dangerous post. Ireland was then a land of poverty, misery and strife. A Catholic nation ruled by Protestant England, the Irish were always on the point of rebellion. In a country where differences of politics were settled by knife or pistol, Peel often went in danger of his life. Yet he managed somehow to govern with wisdom and mercy. Even

when farms and ricks were burned nightly and murders were done in the open streets, he refused to rule the people harshly. In the parts where riots and bloodshed took place most often he removed the hated Protestant soldiers and set up a civil police recruited from the people themselves. It was a successful effort, for peace was kept even in times of famine and disease. And it led Peel later to create a much more famous police system.

When he returned from Ireland in 1818, Peel's name was made. But for a few years he kept out of affairs. His work in Ireland had tired him, and he was never at any time ambitious or eager for power. In 1820 he married Julia Floyd, a woman of great beauty whom he loved dearly all his life. Even at the height of his fame he cared much more for his home and his children than for the rewards of power. He begrudged every day that his work took him away from home, and was always happiest when out of office and able to live quietly. But knowing there were tasks which he alone could perform, he kept on at his public work until the nation needed him no longer. Nor was he without pride and pleasure when he was successful.

No government could now afford to do without Peel, and in 1821 Lord Liverpool, who was then Prime Minister, appointed him Home Secretary. Peel's new post was almost as hard as his work in Ireland. The government was very unpopular and the people discontented. The price of bread was very high and many poor people were starving.

In many parts of the country there had been riots which the hated government called out the soldiers to quell. Fearing a revolution such as had occurred in France, the government refused to reform laws which had long been out of date and barbarous. The rioters were shot down, public meetings were forbidden, and the men who demanded reforms were imprisoned or transported. All the time the nation grew more and more discontented and angry.

Peel saw that it was not enough to quell riots and keep the peace by force of arms. So long as government was bad and the laws unfair, men would rebel. . Quietly and thoroughly he began to reform the old, out-of-date laws. When he became Home Secretary the death penalty could be inflicted for over two hundred offences, many of them petty and almost harmless. When a man could be hanged for a small theft as well as for murder, juries would find a man innocent whom they knew to be guilty or else refuse to pass sentence of death. Men of good sense began to despise the law and criminals throve on its weakness. At a stroke Peel abolished the death penalty for all but the gravest crimes : murder, treason and arson. He made the criminal laws simpler and easier for the ordinary man to understand, and he reformed the prisons.

But it was still of little use to reform laws, without police to see that the laws were obeyed. There was no general system of police in Peel's day. Each town and village had its own

night-watchman and constables. Often these were old men who were too feeble or too lazy to stop robbery. In London there were only a few such men to police many square miles of the city. Peel resolved that a strong and trustworthy body of police would do more to put down crime than the severest of laws. But Englishmen at that time loathed the very word police. It reminded them of spies and all the terrors of the French Revolution. Free men, they declared, needed no armed force to keep them in order. But Peel announced that his new police force should carry no weapons except truncheons, and wear no military uniforms. In 1829 he formed the Metropolitan Police, a body of 3,000 men, who policed an area of 12 miles around the centre of London. The first police looked very much like civilians and even wore top hats. They were nicknamed 'Peelers' or 'Bobbies' after their creator, and at first they were very unpopular. Peel was accused of trying to take away the people's freedom. But when men saw how the new police prevented crime and rioting, they began to change their minds. Soon the 'Bobbies' were looked on as the preservers of freedom and good order.

In the same year in which he founded the police force, troubles came upon Peel. For the first time he was accused of betraying his followers. As a Protestant country, England had maintained severe laws against Catholics ever since the days of Charles II. No Catholic could sit in Parliament

or hold any government post, nor could a Catholic become an officer in the army or the navy. But England no longer feared a Catholic rebellion, and many men thought these laws were barbarous and intolerant. They demanded the emancipation of Catholics. Pitt himself had tried to abolish ancient laws, but George III had obstinately refused to permit their repeal. The Tory party led by Peel had always opposed Catholic emancipation, but Peel now began to have doubts. It seemed clearly unfair that Catholics should be ruled by a Parliament in which they had no vote. Among Catholics were some of the wisest and most patriotic men in the country, yet they were shut out of the government and could have no say at all in it. Soon there might be a rising in Catholic Ireland if emancipation were not granted. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland wrote to Peel: 'There may be a rebellion, you may put to death thousands, you may suppress it, but it will only put off the day.' The laws against Catholics had to go sooner or later.

Peel wanted to resign. He hoped someone else might be found to pass the Act freeing the Catholics. He had always belonged to the party which still opposed Catholic emancipation. If he now called Parliament to pass an Act of Emancipation, his party would brand him as a traitor. Yet no one else could be found to pass the Act. Only Peel was powerful enough to command the support of the House of Commons; and so he undertook

the job. His followers raged at him for betraying them. Many never forgave him. But the Act was passed. Catholics in future were to be as free as any other British citizens.

For a few years after this, Peel was out of office. Once again he could return to his country home, his wife and his family. In 1830 his father died and Peel became Sir Robert Peel and master of Drayton Manor in Staffordshire. But a quiet life was not to be his for long, for England was then in a very troubled state. Everywhere men demanded the reform of Parliament. Many of the big new towns could send no member to Parliament, while some ancient cities which had shrunk to the size of a village or disappeared altogether still sent two members. For many years reformers had demanded that all men should be given a vote, and now a Bill was brought forward in the House of Commons to reform Parliament. But men like the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel opposed the Reform Bill. They said the time was not ripe for reforms, and that the reforms suggested in the Bill were too sweeping. The reformers were too strong for them. Meetings and riots took place all over the country, and the demand for reform grew stronger every day. No Prime Minister who refused to promise to pass the Reform Bill could hope to remain in office a week. Wellington and Peel yielded, and allowed the leader of the reformers, Earl Grey, to pass the Reform Bill through Parliament.

Peel now seemed to have little chance of ever becoming Prime Minister. He had lost popularity by setting his face against the nation's demand for the reform of Parliament. His own party had little faith in him because he had supported Catholic Emancipation. Twice in the next few years he was summoned to be Prime Minister but on each occasion he failed to remain in office. His time was yet to come.

Not till 1841 did the party which had won the battle for the Reform Bill lose its popularity, and its leader, Lord Melbourne (who had succeeded Earl Grey), resign. Queen Victoria at once sent for Peel and commanded him to form a government. Now at last he could look forward to several years as Prime Minister.

Peel at once set to work to reform public affairs. The country had been badly in debt for some years. So far Prime Ministers had tried to reduce the debt by borrowing or by increasing taxes on food, drink and clothes. Peel's keen business sense told him that if something more drastic than this were not soon done the nation would go bankrupt. But his greatest desire was to lower the taxes on food and drink and especially on corn. To reduce the nation's debt he imposed a tax on income so that it was the rich rather than the poor who felt the burden more. The tax was at the rate of 7d. in the pound. Little as it seems nowadays, it raised a great storm of rage at the time. Peel himself meant the Income Tax to last only until

the debt was paid, but since his day Englishmen have always paid a tax on their income.

Peel could now reduce other taxes and customs duties. Meat, sugar, wool, beer and nearly a thousand other articles all became cheaper. Even though trade was bad and the nation in debt, Peel was determined that the poor man should not have to give up his pint of beer and joint of meat. Lack of trade, high taxes and poor harvests in these years led to poverty and starvation in many parts of the country, so that later men spoke of the period as the 'Hungry Forties'. When Peel abolished or reduced the many taxes that hampered trade, shopkeepers and traders prospered more and more, and poor men were able to buy food for their wives and families.

But one tax remained which caused great hardship among the poor. This was the duty on corn. British farmers were afraid that they would be ruined if foreign corn were freely imported. They demanded that importers of foreign corn should pay a duty which would make its price higher than the price of corn grown in England. Such a duty had been imposed for many years, and farmers believed that it protected them from ruin. They did not much care that it kept bread from the mouths of the poor. And as long as harvests were good only the poorest suffered.

Peel himself had long had no doubt at all that the Corn Laws were necessary. He did not want to see the farmers and landowners, who were his

chief supporters, ruined; nor did he want England to be dependent for food on supplies from abroad. But soon after he became Prime Minister there were several years of poor harvests, and trade was very bad. For some years the powerful Corn Law League, led by John Bright and Richard Cobden, two of the greatest orators England has ever known, had been calling for the abolition of the duties on corn. The League had half the nation on its side, but not the farmers and land-owners. And now Peel began to doubt the wisdom of the Corn Laws. He had removed other taxes on food and drink; why keep duties on corn? Was it right to protect the profits of the farmers when people were starving? Yet he knew that if he tried to repeal the Corn Laws he would raise a storm which would lead to his own downfall. For all his followers would at once desert him.

The year 1845 brought Peel face to face with the disaster he dreaded, for the summer was very wet and most of the harvest was lost. In Ireland the potato crop was completely ruined and thousands of people were on the verge of starvation. Peel now had to decide. If he kept the duties on corn, thousands would starve in both England and Ireland. Only by allowing corn to be imported freely could this horror be prevented. Peel resigned, hoping that some other statesman would be found to repeal the Corn Laws. But no other man was equal to the task. Peel had to return to office. He came back for one purpose only—

the repeal of the Corn Laws. Once he had persuaded Parliament to accept the repeal, he retired. But the abuse heaped on him was terrible. The men who had once loyally supported him accused him of betraying all he had pledged himself to uphold. The farmers declared that he had left them to the mercy of foreigners. Never again could he hope to be Prime Minister of England. One thing only consoled him in his ruin—he had saved thousands from starvation.

For the next four years Peel lived quietly and happily with his family. As the years passed and ruin did not follow the repeal of the Corn Laws, even Peel's enemies began to see that he had acted rightly. His fame increased, but he had no wish to return to office. Nor did he ever have a chance to be Prime Minister again, for on 29 June 1850, he was thrown from his horse while riding in Hyde Park, and a few days later he died from his injuries. When the news spread that Sir Robert Peel was no more, the whole country was filled with sadness, for it knew that it had lost a great man and a great reformer.

ELIZABETH FRY

ONE cold winter's morning many years ago a strange scene took place in Newgate prison in London. A lady, simply but richly dressed in grey, asked to be allowed to talk to the women prisoners, alone. Her name was Elizabeth Fry.

Such a request was unheard of. The turnkeys, or gaolers, did their best to persuade the lady to give up her plan. Even they were afraid to enter the women's quarters alone, but for safety always went in pairs. For the women prisoners were as fierce as wild cats. Most of them were hardened criminals, the dregs of London. Many were under sentence of death or were waiting to be transported to Botany Bay, the convict settlement far away in New South Wales. In Newgate they were herded together in two long rooms, and there they lived, ate and slept. All day long they screamed and fought with one another. No wonder the turnkeys feared that the strange visitor would be attacked and robbed or torn to pieces if they allowed her among such women. Even the prison governor himself was not safe there without a guard.

But the lady in grey refused to be denied. When the turnkeys protested, she showed them the governor's permit, giving Elizabeth Fry full authority to enter the women's quarters. With

much grumbling, the turnkeys then agreed to unlock the gate for her. But they warned her that she would be safer if she left her gold watch behind. Even this she refused to do, but insisted on visiting the women quite alone and unprotected.

As the turnkeys hastily shut and locked the gate behind her, the lady in grey advanced to meet the women prisoners. Astonished to see anyone visit them without a guard, they crowded forward to take a closer look at her, and the turnkeys trembled for her safety.

So far not one of the women gave any sign of molesting the unprotected visitor. Filled with curiosity to see anyone so calm and unafraid in their midst, they waited to see what she would do. If she had then shown the least sign of fear she would have been lost. Without a word, she picked up one of the prisoners' children and allowed him to play with her gold watch chain. Then she began to talk to the women, appealing to the mothers among them not to let their children grow up in prison to become prisoners themselves. And, as a mother herself, she promised to help them plan for their children's future.

Criminal as they were, even the hardest were touched by this appeal. Eager to hear more, they found their visitor a chair and brought their children to show her. They even began to make plans for a school to be held in the prison. For hours Elizabeth Fry sat with them and listened to their stories of poverty and trouble and crime.

To all of them she gave new hope for a happier future. When at last she left them, and the turnkeys had once more locked and bolted the gate, the women of Newgate Prison knew that they had found a true friend.

Elizabeth Fry soon paid another visit to the women prisoners. This time they welcomed her gladly, and presented to her the schoolmistress, a young woman, named Mary Connor, whom they had chosen from among themselves to teach their children. They were eager to waste no time in starting the new school. So Elizabeth Fry at once went to the prison authorities and asked permission to use a small room near the women's quarters as a schoolroom. The authorities laughed at the very idea of a school in prison. It was all nonsense, said they, and quite hopeless to expect the women—or their children—ever to be fit for anything but prison. But they allowed Elizabeth Fry to use the room she asked for. Next she borrowed a number of old schoolbooks from her friends. All was now ready, and next day the school started. From the first it was a great success. The women took the greatest pride in their children's progress, and instead of neglecting them as before, they washed and dressed them every day so that they should be clean and tidy for school.

No sooner was the school for children started in Newgate than the women prisoners demanded a school for themselves. They wanted to learn

to read, they wanted to learn to sew. They wanted to learn to do anything that would keep them from being idle and bored all day long. For boredom led to quarrels, and quarrels led to fresh crimes and misery. So once again Elizabeth Fry had to help. Once again the prison authorities scoffed at the idea that criminals or their children could be reformed. If prisoners were given books to read or needles and cotton to sew with, they declared, they would all be stolen or destroyed within a week. And who, they asked, was to pay for such folly? But Elizabeth Fry persisted with her plans. She knew well enough that the women only needed a little encouragement and help. From her friends she obtained gifts of books, clothes and sewing materials. Other friends went with her to help the Newgate women, and very shortly the formerly wild prisoners spent their days reading and sewing. They mended their own and their children's clothes, and even made clothes for sale. No longer were the days and nights at Newgate made hideous with the screams and cries of the women prisoners, for now the women had too much to do to quarrel. They had no time now to plan new crimes on their release from prison. The turnkeys were no longer terrified to enter the women's prison alone, and even the prison authorities had to admit that the women prisoners had been wonderfully reformed. And they were not too proud to own that it was all owing to the work of Elizabeth Fry.

The woman who had thus won for herself the

title of 'the prisoners' friend' was born on 21 May 1790, at the village of Earlham in Norfolk. Her father was John Gurney, a wealthy banker and a Quaker, and Elizabeth and her brothers and sisters were brought up as Quakers. Every Sunday the Gurneys drove in their carriage to the Quaker Meeting House at Norwich, where they had to sit through a meeting lasting two hours, with many prayers and sermons. To the Gurney children this was a gloomy and boring way of spending a morning, and very glad they were when it was all over. In those days most Quakers were dressed very plainly in grey or brown, and the women wore white caps. But the Gurneys were not very strict members of the Society of Friends, as the Quakers called themselves, and they dressed according to their own fancy. Sometimes Elizabeth and her sisters would appear at the meeting house wearing gay scarlet cloaks and hoods —to the great horror of the older Quakers. Though their meetings were dull and their habits strict, the Quakers were good people. They sincerely practised the simple form of Christianity which they preached—even though they were jeered at for it. In the time of Charles II they had endured and won through terrible persecution. Now all men respected their sincerity and honesty. It was well known that a Quaker's word was his bond, and so Quakers throve in business. Yet they were not content merely to win fortunes. They gave freely to the poor. They built schools. They

began the fight for the emancipation of the slaves. Everywhere they tried to improve the lot of their fellow men.

The Gurneys were a happy and carefree family. Earlham Hall, where they lived, was a fine mansion with beautiful grounds. Here they entertained their many friends, held many parties and went riding together. Elizabeth had six sisters and four brothers, and they were known all over Norfolk for their gaiety and their mad pranks. They loved to poke fun at the solemn Quakers and to shock the strict elders of the meeting house with their bright clothes and their cheerful smiles.

One day there came to the meeting house at Norwich a Quaker preacher from America. The words he spoke during the meeting stirred Elizabeth very strongly, and she soon began to think that her carefree life was not good enough. Anxious to live a more truly Christian life, she began to listen more carefully to what was said at the meeting house and to practise what the Quakers taught. Before long she gave up wearing pretty frocks and dresses and adopted the more sober dress of the stricter Quakers. Dancing, parties, music, games, all the things that had once made her so happy, she now abandoned to follow the way of life she had chosen. Even though her sisters laughed at her for this, she kept to her way, and all her life remained a strict Quaker.

Yet Elizabeth Fry was always a very sensible and practical woman. She was never content merely

to try to live a good life. She wanted much more to *do* good. No sooner did she become a strict Quaker than she tried to make herself more useful to her fellow men. Seeing that many of the boys and girls of Earlham were too poor to go to school, she resolved to teach them herself. At first she had only one little boy whom she taught to read stories from the Bible every Sunday evening. Soon he told his friends, who were eager to join him. In one of the attics of her father's house Elizabeth started her school. So popular did she become with the children of the villages nearby that it was not long before nearly seventy of them crowded into that attic. It meant much hard work for their teacher, but she was happy to do it. Though at first her sisters laughed at her and refused to help, calling the children 'Betsy's Imps', she persevered. She even visited the children's homes and nursed them when they were ill. It was in the attic with her seventy 'Imps' that she first learned how much the poor of the cities and countryside of England needed practical help.

Elizabeth Gurney was a tall, fair young woman, and though perhaps not so beautiful as some of her sisters, she was the first of them to marry. Her husband, Joseph Fry, paid many visits to Earlham before at last she consented to marry him. London, where her new home was to be, seemed far away and friendless. She could not bring herself to leave her pleasant home at Earlham, her sisters and her school. At first, indeed, she was

not very happy in her husband's great house in London. But soon she had children of her own to busy herself with, and the years passed happily for her. Her husband, who was also a Quaker, was a wealthy banker, and it became Elizabeth Fry's duty to act as hostess to large gatherings of London Quakers and business men. Yet she still found time for helping the poor of the great city, and in 1813 she paid her first visit to Newgate.

No worse den of misery and filth than Newgate existed in England at that time. All kinds of prisoners were crowded together within its walls. Some were awaiting trial, others transportation, others execution, whilst many were serving long sentences. Innocent and guilty, young and old, mixed freely together. All of them had to find money for their food and bedding or rely on the help of friends, for prison rations were scanty and hardly fit to eat. To pass the time away the prisoners played cards, fought or got drunk. Very few people in those days thought that criminals could be made into good citizens. Once a criminal, always a criminal, men said, and so crime was punished as brutally as possible. Death was the penalty for over two hundred such petty crimes as stealing a piece of cloth, killing a rabbit or breaking into a house. A man who sold stolen goods was whipped through the streets of London. Criminals who were not sentenced to death were generally transported. This meant that they were banished to Botany Bay in New South Wales for

seven years, fourteen years or even for life. Yet with all these harsh punishments and crowded prisons, crime throve and increased daily.

As soon as Elizabeth Fry saw the misery of the prisoners of Newgate she knew that she had found work which it was her duty to do. From that day she became 'the prisoners' friend'. The task she had undertaken was colossal. All over England prisons were as barbarous as Newgate. But it was not her way to tackle all the difficulties at once. She did not demand an Act of Parliament to improve the state of English prisons. She did not even issue an appeal for help. Instead, she went alone to Newgate, made friends with the women prisoners and in a very short time turned many of them into good citizens.

Such work did more good than many an Act of Parliament. It was copied in other prisons throughout the country, and men began to see that kind treatment and employment were better cures for crime than brutality and neglect. Elizabeth Fry soon gathered round her a band of ladies who visited prisons, taught the prisoners' children, found work for the prisoners themselves and helped them after they were discharged. In a few weeks she had become famous, and her school in Newgate was the talk of the day. The Lord Mayor of London himself, with his sheriffs and aldermen, visited the prison to see for themselves. They could scarcely believe their eyes. The savage women they had once known had vanished. In

their place was an orderly band of women, some of whom were sewing, others knitting and others reading. Newgate had become almost a show. Statesmen, noblemen, travellers from foreign lands, and even princes gathered in the prison to hear Elizabeth Fry read to the prisoners and to marvel at the wonderful change she had made.

It was always a sad day for Elizabeth Fry when prisoners who were her friends left Newgate for the convict-ship and transportation to Botany Bay. This was the unhappy lot of many of the women who came under her care, and at first she feared it would undo most of the good she had done. How could she help women on the long voyage? And who would help them when they were far away in the convict settlement? It seemed more than likely that transportation would make them worse criminals.

Once again she went to the prison authorities and enlisted their aid. They gave her permission to go on board the convict-ship and see to the comfort of the women prisoners. Soon she had a school started for their children, and had persuaded the authorities to make a rule that no women should be fettered during the journey. To encourage the women to work and earn a living when they reached New South Wales, they were each given a set of gifts which included two aprons, a cap, knife and fork, needles, pins, cotton, wool, scissors, pieces of cloth and tape, and many other articles useful in sewing and knitting. During

the voyage the women would busy themselves with these things, and at the end of it would have quilts and clothes to sell. Elizabeth and her friends even managed to provide books for the women.

No wonder they adored Elizabeth Fry and were broken-hearted when the moment for parting came. Every year she visited the convict-ship as it lay in the river waiting for a favourable wind. The prisoners would crowd on to the deck to hear her read the Bible to them for the last time. To catch a glimpse of her, sailors climbed into the rigging of neighbouring ships. Not a sound was heard as she read in her clear voice, and as she left the ship the eyes of everyone on board would follow her until they could see her no more. As she was being rowed ashore, one of the prisoners leaned over the side of the ship and cried: 'Our prayers will follow you, and a convict's prayers will be heard.'

Elizabeth Fry was now one of the most celebrated women of her time. From all parts of Europe came requests and appeals that she should help in the reform of prisons. Her advice was sought by ministers and monarchs. She undertook many long journeys in England and on the Continent. Among her friends were Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, Sir Robert Peel, the famous Prime Minister and social reformer, and King Frederick William IV of Prussia. Always was she urging that criminals could be turned into good citizens if only they were treated as human

beings to be taught and not as wild beasts to be tamed. Her words bore fruit in many lands, for not only in Great Britain but also in France, Germany, Holland, Denmark and even in Russia, prisons were made less barbarous, prisoners were no longer chained, floggings were inflicted less often, work was found for the older prisoners and teachers for the children. Convicts who knew nothing else of England blessed the name of Elizabeth Fry.

In spite of her immense labours on behalf of prisoners, Elizabeth Fry still found time to bring up a happy family of eleven children. The Frys had a beautiful home in Essex, where their large family spent many happy years. But in her old age troubles came to Elizabeth Fry. By 1836 three of her sisters had died, and she had also lost her eldest son, William, and two of her grandchildren. Added to these sorrows came poverty. Some of her husband's businesses failed, and the Frys were forced to sell their beautiful home and take a much smaller house. Gone were the days when they owned a fine mansion in London as well as their country home.

But Elizabeth Fry did not cease to work for prisoners, even when her health began to fail. Nor did she forget others who needed her help. Once when she was by the sea recovering from an illness, she used to sit and watch a coastguard pacing up and down the cliffs. She was at once touched by the loneliness of the life of the men

who kept ceaseless watch on the shores of England. If only these men had books, she thought, at least their spare time need not be spent in idleness and boredom. In a few years, owing to her labours, libraries were placed in every one of the five hundred coastguard stations around the English coast.

At length there came the time when Elizabeth Fry was too frail and ill for the work she so much loved. No more could she visit prisons and read to the prisoners, never again would she go on board the convict-ship to cheer the convicts before their long, sad journey. She died on 12 October 1845. The world had lost a very great woman and prisoners a loyal friend, but nothing could undo her work.

LORD SHAFTESBURY

ENGLAND a hundred years ago was a hard place to live in for all but the wealthiest and highest-born. In those days the rich owners of the new factories and mills lived in comfort, and so did the great landowners and noblemen. For the rest of the people there was often poverty and hunger. Children especially were not cared for as they are to-day. Only those whose parents could afford fees went to schools, and so most of the poorer people of England could neither read nor write. Thousands of unhappy children were sent to work long hours every day in mills and factories and coal mines. Others were made to climb and sweep chimneys or toil all day at weeding and picking in the fields. Employers were glad to have children to work for them, as they paid children less than the grown-ups for their work and they could drive them harder. Poor people would even sell their children to mill-owners to work for them for so many years. It was a hard life and a bleak future for all such children.

Though an age of toil and misery for working men and women and their children, this was also an age of great men and women. Queen Victoria, one of the greatest of English monarchs, had just

come to the throne. Sir Robert Peel, who founded the police system and reformed the cruel laws against criminals, was Prime Minister. Not many years before, George Stephenson had founded the first railway, and the famous scientist Michael Faraday had invented the dynamo. In 1832 Lord Grey had passed the Reform Act which gave many more men than before the right to vote for a member of Parliament; and thirty years later another great English statesman, Benjamin Disraeli, gave the vote to working-class men. This was also the age of Florence Nightingale, the heroine of the Crimea, and the founder of modern nursing. Yet perhaps of all the great men and women of the reign of Queen Victoria, none is so well remembered to-day by ordinary men and women as Lord Shaftesbury, the philanthropist who laboured all his days to make life happier for the men and women and above all the children working in the factories, mills, mines and fields of England.

Lord Shaftesbury was born at the very beginning of the nineteenth century, on 28 April 1801, in London. He was christened Antony Ashley Cooper, the name his ancestors had borne since the days of Queen Elizabeth. His father was the sixth Earl of Shaftesbury, and until the future reformer succeeded to the earldom at his father's death in 1851, and so became the seventh and greatest Earl of Shaftesbury, he was known as Lord Ashley.

In the year in which Lord Ashley was born, England was engaged in the war with the French, under Napoleon. William Pitt the younger was Prime Minister, and Lord Nelson was in command of the English Fleet which in 1805, when Lord Ashley was only four years of age, defeated the French and Spanish fleets at the famous battle of Trafalgar. In 1815, while Lord Ashley was still at school, came the battle of Waterloo at which the French Emperor and conqueror was defeated by the Duke of Wellington and sent into exile on the Island of St. Helena far away in the South Atlantic Ocean. For the next forty years England was at peace.

Lord Ashley's childhood was not a very happy one. Though born into a noble family he was lonely and neglected. His father, a stern and harsh man, was too busy with his public duties as a Member of the House of Lords to take much notice of his son, and Lady Shaftesbury would not give up the pleasures of fashionable London society to be a good mother to her children. So the boy was left to the care of servants. His one friend in his early years was his old nurse, Maria Millis, of whom he was very fond. She it was who would sit and talk to the lonely little boy and read him stories from the Bible. She too taught him the religious faith he kept throughout his long life, the faith which was the mainspring of all his efforts to make England a happier land to live in.

The young nobleman was educated at Harrow, the famous old school, where the sons of many of the greatest noblemen and statesmen of England have been educated. It was while he was at Harrow that he determined what his future career should be. For as he was walking near the school one day he saw a party of workmen bearing the coffin of a pauper to the churchyard. But so drunk were the bearers that they rolled and lurched from side to side of the street, until at last they lost their balance and let the coffin tumble into the road. So shocked was the young Lord Ashley at this terrible scene that he could not move from where he stood. It seemed to him a disgrace to England that a man with no money or friends should have such a mockery of a funeral. At that moment he resolved to devote his life to the service of all the men, women and children of his country whose poverty made them the slaves of others.

After leaving Harrow, Lord Ashley finished his education at the University of Oxford. He was then eighteen and was not a brilliantly clever young man, but made up for this by determination. So hard did he work that he obtained a first class degree. Then, after a long tour through Europe as was the custom for high-born young Englishmen in those days, he entered Parliament as Member for Woodstock in 1826. He was just twenty-five, a tall and handsome young man.

His life's work began almost as soon as he took his seat in the House of Commons. For his very

first speech was in favour of an Act to prevent the cruelties suffered by lunatics. At that time people believed that lunatics were possessed by demons or evil spirits. Because of this they kept their friends who were mad locked up in cells, often in chains, and would flog them or duck them in cold water when they were troublesome. Sometimes old people who were not lunatics were locked up by their relations who wanted to get hold of their money. In the famous Hospital of Bethlehem in London, people were charged two-pence to see the lunatics, who were often goaded into fury by their keepers in order to attract more people to come and see them. All over England, the young Lord told the House of Commons, poor people who could not help themselves were being kept in cages or dark and filthy cells, often without enough food or clothing and often in chains. It was the young reformer's first speech, but it brought peace and kind treatment to many poor madmen, for it led Parliament to order that in future lunatics should be looked after as invalids and put under the care of doctors. Lord Ashley was put at the head of the men who were to see that this was done. And for the rest of his life, amid all his many other labours, he always found time to give to the cause of the lunatics.

The leading statesmen of the time soon saw that Lord Ashley was a promising young man. The Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister, gave him

a high post in the government of India, and in that post Lord Ashley soon revealed his humanitarian spirit. He worked hard to abolish the practice of *suttee* or widow-burning and to improve the relations between Indians and the English. Soon he was offered higher posts in the Government, but he made up his mind to refuse them, much as he would have liked the honour. He believed that as a minister of the Government he would be tied to that Government's aims and methods, and he wanted to be free to carry out whatever social reforms seemed most necessary, whether the government of the day supported them or not. So he renounced all ideas of fame as a statesman, and set himself the task of improving the lot of ordinary men and women.

In 1833 all negro slaves throughout the British Empire were set free. This was mainly due to the labours of William Wilberforce, who had spent his life trying to pass the Act of Emancipation through Parliament and who died in the very year of his triumph. No one was more glad to see the slaves set free than Lord Ashley, who was a keen admirer of Wilberforce. Yet he could not help thinking of the men, women and children who worked like slaves in the factories of England, and wondering when they would win *their* freedom. It was in this very year, 1833, that he began his long struggle to obtain better conditions for factory workers.

Since about the middle of the eighteenth century

England had been growing more and more a country of bricks and mortar. In a few years villages had swollen to great cities, such as Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow. Hearing that fortunes were to be made in the new towns, men left the villages and farms and went to live in the new towns.

In those days there were many opportunities for poor men to rise to ranks of great wealth and honour. James Watt, who invented the steam engine, and George Stephenson, the father of the railways, were two such men of humble origin who rose to be very great men. For it was an age of wonderful mechanical inventions. At the end of the eighteenth century had appeared the power looms which produced finer cloth far more quickly than had the old hand machines. To work these new machines many men were needed, and factories were built for them to work in. About this time, too, Robert Macadam invented the hard road surface which is called after him, and as a result cotton and woollen goods could be transported more rapidly from factory to port, and coal and iron could be brought more easily from the mining districts. As well as roads, canals such as the famous Manchester Ship Canal were built to join the chief rivers of the country. Every year these new roads and canals carried more and more cloth and machinery and coal to be sold abroad, and every year England grew richer and richer. At the same time the population increased

enormously. In the eighteenth century it doubled itself and by the time the future Lord Ashley was a young man it was over twelve millions.

Unfortunately, although some men, the owners of the mines and factories, grew very rich during the Industrial Revolution, as this age is called, those who worked for them grew much poorer. For their long, long hours of dreary labour in the huge new factories, those men and women who had left the country for the town in search of work were paid but a few shillings a week, and often they had to send their children to work at cleaning and watching the machines in the factories in order to make enough money to keep the family from starving.

If working in the factories was hard on the men and women of the big new industrial towns, it was cruel to their children. Even children of nine worked twelve hours a day, and often it was as much as sixteen hours a day. Many children were so tired at the end of their day's toil that they fell asleep on the mill floor. In many a northern English town you might hear in the early hours of the morning the patter of feet of children hurrying to the mill in fear lest they be late. If they were late they felt the overseer's lash. Boys who fell asleep at their work were often knocked down and beaten. Very little happiness or rest came the way of these factory children, many of whom were orphans with no one to look after them. Their only respite from work came on Sundays, when

even their masters dare not make them work, and their only school was the Sunday School, though their teachers all found them too weary to work.

It was clear to those who wanted to help the factory workers that the employers would not agree to shorten the hours of working. The longer the hands worked, said the factory owners, the greater were the profits. The only thing to do was to persuade Parliament to pass an Act to shorten the hours of work in factories. No man seemed better fitted to undertake this task than the young Lord Ashley. He himself was not so sure. He thought he might not be able to carry on the fight for the factory workers with all the skill it required. But his wife, the beautiful Lady Emily Cooper, urged him on. 'It is your duty!' she told him, 'Go forward to victory!'

So Lord Ashley proposed the Ten Hours Bill in the House of Commons. He would have liked to insist on less than ten hours work a day for the factory hands, but he knew that it would be hard enough to pass even the Ten Hours Bill. And so it was. The opponents of the bill did all they could to hinder it. The factory owners protested that it meant ruin. To delay the bill the Government suggested an inquiry into the conditions of work in factories. That took a long time. When it seemed that something would have to be done, so terrible were the reports of those sent to inquire, the Government suggested a Bill of their own,

which did not even offer a ten-hours day. Then the bill was shelved for a time. Struggle as he could, Lord Ashley found the years creeping by without any hope of success. All his moving and eloquent speeches in the House of Commons seemed to fall on deaf ears. Yet he toiled on, and slowly the nation began to realize the plight of the factory children.

Hard as he worked for the Ten Hours Bill, Lord Ashley soon found many other causes that needed his support. All his life he worked hard for the Ragged Schools. These were schools that admitted only ragged children, the waifs and strays of the slums of London. For many years these schools had been run by a group of missionaries and business men of London, but they needed a great man to help them, and so they asked Lord Ashley to be their President. Eagerly he consented, for he believed the work of the Ragged School Union to be as important as factory reform. Until the coming of the Ragged Schools the thousands of urchins in the slums and gutters of London had no one to take care of them, teach them and train them for a career. Most of them ran wild and turned into thieves and pickpockets. For years Lord Ashley and his helpers would scour the streets and alleys of the city in search of pupils for the Ragged Schools. And the schools did not merely teach the children: they had to provide clothes, food, baths and warm rooms too. In his old age Lord Ashley treasured many a letter of

:hanks from former Ragged School children who had done well in life.

In 1846, after thirteen years of trying to get the Ten Hours Bill passed, Lord Ashley received another set-back. He lost his seat in the House of Commons. For many years the Corn Laws had kept the price of bread high in order that farmers and landowners might profit. But it meant that bread was too dear for the ordinary poor man, and many people nearly starved. For years two of the greatest English orators, John Bright and Richard Cobden, had been leading a campaign against the Corn Laws, but the Government under Sir Robert Peel had always refused to repeal the laws. Then at last a terrible famine in Ireland persuaded Peel that the Corn Laws ought to be swept away. Lord Ashley agreed with Sir Robert Peel, but all the landowners and farmers who had voted for the Government rose in revolt. The Corn Laws were repealed, bread became cheaper, but Sir Robert Peel was no longer Prime Minister and Lord Ashley was forced to resign his seat.

To the cause of the Ten Hours Bill this was a heavy blow. For at the same time the Government decided to oppose the Bill, and the cotton manufacturers announced that if they were forced to shorten hours of working in their factories they would lower wages. Lord Ashley knew well enough that shorter hours would mean better work and in the long run greater profits for both workers and factory owners. Up and down the country

he travelled for years making speeches in favour of the Bill. None knew better than he the horrors of the factories, for he had visited large numbers of factories in the north of England and had spoken to hundreds and thousands of factory workers. At long last came the day, in 1847, when the Ten Hours Bill became law. Though not a Member of Parliament, Lord Ashley waited anxiously in the lobbies for the result of each reading of the Bill. Once it was read and passed, then again. Then at last, it passed the third reading. Victory was won!

Four hundred thousand women and children alone were made happier by the passage of the great Bill. In one town its results were almost a miracle. In 1838, Lord Ashley had visited this town in the course of his campaign of speeches for the Ten Hours Bill and had asked all those who had been maimed or injured in the factories of the town to assemble in a public square. More than eighty people gathered in that square. 'They stood or squatted before me,' said Lord Ashley, 'in the shapes of the letters of the alphabet.' Some years after the Ten Hours Bill had been passed he returned to the same town. To his great joy not one cripple was to be found.

Lord Ashley's enemies, the owners of the factories and mills, who hated to see the reformer meddling with their businesses, and stopping them from getting all they could from their workers, soon found ways of attacking him.

They began to say that there were far worse evils to be destroyed in the country than in the towns and factories. One politician even accused Lord Ashley of ignoring the poverty and hardships among the villagers on his father's estate while he called upon all England to see the misery of the factory children. This was most unfair to Lord Ashley, for while his father lived he had no say at all in the running of the estate, and his father was so angered by his son's championship of the working classes that he refused to see him and cut short his allowance. For many years Lord Ashley never saw his ancestral home and lands, and lived as a poor man. But when his father died and he became Earl of Shaftesbury, he at once set about the task, poor as he was, of providing better cottages at lower rents for the villagers on his estate.

Lord Shaftesbury, as he had become, did not rest on his laurels. Soon he was calling for the redress of another great evil. Bad as had been the conditions of work in the factories, in the coal mines they were far more hard and cruel. In all the coal mines women and very young children toiled all day in darkness and dirt. Some took the place of pit ponies where the mine was too small for animals, and crawled on hands and knees dragging trucks of coal. Young children sat for hours, sometimes in water, opening and shutting the traps that controlled ventilation. Even at eight years of age children were set to pump water, drag and hew coal, fill and carry heavy baskets,

and toil like beasts of burden far below the ground. Lord Shaftesbury lost no time in bringing all the terrible facts to the notice of Parliament. Soon a bill was proposed to end the sufferings of children in the mines. Once again those who had profited raised a cry of protest. The country's prosperity will be ruined, they said, if you tamper with the coal industry. But the horror of the country was aroused by the stories of the sufferings and diseases of the children in the mines. The Bill was passed, and no longer did women and children toil in the darkness of the mines.

It is not possible to tell all the reforms that Lord Shaftesbury carried out. Through his work the cruel practice of setting children to work in gangs at picking, weeding, and pulling turnips in the fields from morning to night was stopped. He it was who caused the custom of employing children in hot and unhealthy calico works to be put to an end. In brickyards half-naked children were forced to carry heavy loads of wet clay until Lord Shaftesbury drew attention to the evil and it was abolished. One evil he could not abolish, hard as he tried, was the Opium Trade with China. English traders found that huge fortunes were to be made by cultivating the poppy from which opium is obtained and smuggling the drug to China. When the Chinese government ordered this smuggling to stop and destroyed some 20,000 chests of opium, the British Government declared war, captured Hong Kong, and threw open the Chinese ports

to the opium traders. Lord Shaftesbury opposed this action with all his might, but in vain. Everyone agreed that the opium trade was wrong and un-Christian, but it paid too well to be abolished.

Lord Shaftesbury next turned his attention to an evil which he said was ten times worse than any in the factories. For over a century chimney sweeps had used small boys to climb and sweep chimneys for them. Often orphans and homeless children, these poor 'climbing boys' as they were called, suffered great torments in their work. Blinded by soot, or burned by hot bricks in the chimney, they often fell and broke their limbs. Sometimes a boy would get jammed in a chimney and be suffocated. Some were burned to death in this way. If they were afraid to climb a chimney their masters beat them and prodded their feet with wire, or even lit a fire in the grate below. For a hundred years reformers had tried to abolish this evil. But housewives all over the country insisted that climbing boys swept their chimneys much more cleanly than rods and brushes. And so the evil remained until Lord Shaftesbury took up the fight against it. Again and again he spoke against it in Parliament, telling of the sufferings of the climbing boys and how they were burned and stifled in rich men's chimneys. At last in 1875 an Act was passed to abolish the practice and no longer were young children driven up hot and smoky chimneys.

By this time Lord Shaftesbury was an old man.

He was perhaps the most popular man in the country for he had done more for working men and women and their children than the greatest statesmen of the age. 'Our Earl', he was called by working men. When he died in 1885 thousands crowded the streets to pay him tribute.

'Our Earl's gone,' said one labourer. 'We shan't see his like again.'

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

WHEN anyone is ill he is looked after by a doctor and probably a nurse, and it is very likely that he will be sent to a hospital. There he will be put to bed in a large airy room or ward. He will have nurses to take care of him, make his bed, give him wholesome food, and help him to get well and strong again in a very short time. The hospital will be a large and very carefully planned building where nothing is allowed to get dirty and where all work is done in a quiet, orderly fashion. The doctors and nurses are all thoroughly trained men and women whose one purpose is to see that the many patients in their care get well as soon as possible.

Such is the modern hospital. Almost every town of any size has one of its own, and if it has not, someone is sure to be planning one for it. There are also many hospitals which take only men and women with special kinds of diseases. But every hospital in every part of the world has the same standards of cleanliness, order and kindness. Everywhere the men and women who work in these hospitals devote their lives to fighting disease of all kinds.

Two hundred years ago there were very few hospitals. Twenty-three of the counties of

England had no hospital at all, and two hospitals were thought enough for the whole of the great city of London. Not only were there very few hospitals, but those there were seemed more likely to spread disease than to prevent it. Dark and dirty old buildings with tiny windows and perhaps evil-smelling drains and very little warmth, they were miserable places for sick people who were trying to get well. Doctors were few, for all the more skilful doctors preferred to attend wealthy private patients. Nurses were not trained, but were usually poor women who could find nothing better to do. For even a hundred years ago nurses were despised as a coarse, ignorant and disreputable class of woman. So indeed they often were. In hospitals they would steal from their patients or treat them with great cruelty. Often they would be drunk on duty, and none of them knew much about what we consider the duties of nursing. No woman of good birth would dream of becoming a nurse. To do so would be to disgrace herself and her family.

In spite of this, nearly a century ago one girl of good birth, the daughter of wealthy parents, did resolve to devote her life to nursing. Nearly everything we most admire in hospitals to-day is owed to the work of this one young girl who faced the scorn of all people of her class when she became a nurse. Her name was Florence Nightingale.

Florence Nightingale was born on 15 May 1820, at Florence in Italy, and her parents called

her after the city where she was born. Her father was a wealthy country gentleman who was very fond of travelling. He owned several great mansions in different parts of England, as well as a fine house in London. So it was that even as a girl, Florence Nightingale travelled a great deal in Europe and England and met many of the noblest and wealthiest men and women of her day. Near one of her parents' country mansions lived Sidney Herbert, who was descended from one of the great noble families of England, the Earls of Pembroke. He soon became one of Florence Nightingale's closest friends. In later years when he was Secretary of State for War he did more than any man to help Florence Nightingale in her work for the hospitals.

At the age of eighteen Florence was taken to Court by her parents and presented to the young Queen Victoria, who had succeeded to the throne only the year before, 1837. She now had all that a young girl of her class could desire. Beautiful clothes, frequent parties and visits to the theatre, tours of the great cities of Europe, friends at Court, all these were hers. She lacked nothing. If she were ill the most skilled doctors of the day would be at her bedside, and she might have the rarest delicacies and wines to restore her to health. But she knew that what she could have freely and did not need, others could not have, however much they needed it.

For Florence Nightingale grew up to be different

from all the other young women of her class. They cared only for a comfortable home, fashionable clothes, parties, theatres, and all the things she soon found dull. Her one passion was nursing. She longed to become what all her friends most scorned—a nurse. When she might have had every luxury that money could buy she cared only for nursing the sick. Her friends thought her crazy.

Even when she was a child her sole ambition was to be a nurse. Her favourite game was to pretend that she was a nurse and to treat her dolls as her patients. When her sister pulled the dolls to pieces, it delighted Florence to bandage and nurse them.

When Florence came of age her parents wanted her to marry. Like everybody else in those days they considered that the only thing a woman could do was to have a home and family of her own. Very few women ever had any career but this, and certainly no respectable woman ever became a nurse! If Florence Nightingale had wanted to marry she might easily have done so. Every day she met the cleverest and wealthiest men in England, many of whom wished to marry her, for she had grown up a beautiful woman, well-educated, and worthy to be the wife of a great statesman. Even when she met a man whom she would have liked for her husband and who very much wanted to marry her, she refused his proposal. As his wife she could have been very happy, but if she were

married she would have to give up the career which she believed was destined for her. In those days no man would want his wife to be a nurse, nor indeed to have any career at all save that of a wife and mother. But Florence Nightingale knew that her mission was to be a nurse, and a nurse she was determined to be. So she renounced all thought of marriage and private happiness. Her father was shocked, her mother was in tears. But Florence was resolved, and she had her way.

'It was', she said, 'as if I had wanted to be a kitchenmaid.'

She grew more and more unhappy at home, leading what she believed was an idle and useless life. Resolving to do something useful she took to visiting hospitals and Ragged Schools in the poor parts of London, and the cottages near her country home. She learned all she could about hospital work, and spent years visiting hospital after hospital in England and Europe. Before she was thirty there was scarcely a hospital in Europe she had not visited. She even visited the hospitals of convents in Egypt. At that time some of the best trained nurses belonged to convents and so Florence Nightingale resolved to go through the severe training of a convent nurse. In convents in Paris and Germany she learned those methods of cleanliness, tidiness and common sense which years later she taught to nurses in England.

After eleven years spent in visiting hospitals in this way, Florence Nightingale became recognized

in England as a expert on hospitals, and in 1853 she was appointed superintendent of a home for invalid ladies in Harley Street, London. Here she carried out many of the lessons she had learned abroad, and it was here that she was working when in March, 1854, the Crimean War broke out.

Never before in Florence Nightingale's life had England been at war. Indeed, all Europe had been at peace since the mighty French Emperor and conqueror, Napoleon, had been defeated by the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo in 1815, five years before Florence Nightingale was born.

But now England and France were fighting together as the allies of Turkey against Russia. Seeking an outlet to the sea, Russia had set her eyes on Constantinople, the ancient city that guarded the route from the Black Sea and Asia through the Bosphorus into the Mediterranean Sea. Constantinople was the capital city of the Turkish Empire that had ruled all South-Eastern Europe since the fourteenth century. But now that Empire was growing weak, and Nicholas I, the Tsar of Russia, was waiting for an excuse to invade Turkey and capture Constantinople. In 1853 his chance came when the pilgrims visiting the birthplace and sepulchre of Christ in the Holy Land, which was then in Turkish hands, complained that the Turks ill-treated them. At once the Tsar seized his chance. Though Turkey promised that the pilgrims should be protected, a Russian army invaded Roumania and advanced on Constantinople.

Turkey was forced to declare war. Russia replied by sinking a Turkish fleet at Sinope in the Black Sea. England and France at once came to Turkey's aid, for they feared that if Russia held Constantinople she would threaten their trade routes in the Mediterranean Sea.

The war was fought mainly in a district north of the Black Sea, called the Crimea, and so the war is known as the Crimean War. The aim of England and France was to destroy Sebastopol, the Russian naval base on the Black Sea. While one army was sent to check the Russian march on Constantinople, another went to the Crimea and laid siege to Sebastopol.

Sebastopol was so strongly fortified that it seemed that it would never be taken. A French and British army of 50,000 men attacked it month after month in vain. Above the town three famous battles were fought. On the river Alma, near Sebastopol, the Russians were routed in an attempt to stop the march towards the town. Then came the fierce battles at Balaclava and Inkerman which were victories for neither side. Balaclava is famous for the heroic Charge of the Light Brigade, when six hundred British cavalry charged the main force of the Russians under the deadly fire of their field guns. Most of the Light Brigade fell on the field, but it remains an example of superb bravery in the face of hopeless odds.

The first winter of the war was a time of terrible hardship for the British troops in the Crimea.

It was a bitterly cold winter, and soon hundreds of men were ill with pneumonia. The Tsar Nicholas said that January and February were his two best generals, for they slew more men than all his armies. The British soldiers were quite unprepared for a winter campaign. In fact, the British army was exactly as it had been in the days of Waterloo. In their scarlet, blue and black uniforms with gold braid, the soldiers looked picturesque, but very soon in the hardships of the winter in the Crimea most of them were ragged, cold and ill. So out of date was the organization of the army that many of them had no overcoats, food was scarce and tents and bedding insufficient. There was very little fodder for the horses, no medical stores or aid for the wounded, and when a terrible storm destroyed the tents there were none to replace them.

Before long, news of the fearful state of the army filtered home to England. In those days the voyage to England took weeks, and the telegraph system was only just beginning. But soon people in England began to realize that all was not well. The correspondent of *The Times* wrote home that the soldiers were worn to the bone, and were 'ragged, shoeless, besmeared with mud, infested with vermin' and tortured by disease. It almost seemed as if the British army would be beaten by disease, not by the Russians. All England was horrified at the news.

The stories of the sufferings of the troops in the

Crimea moved none more than Florence Nightingale. And she was the one person in England who could help. Not only did she know more about hospitals than anyone else in the country, but she was also a very masterful woman with great gifts of organization. And it happened that her friend, Sidney Herbert, was Secretary of State for War at this time. So she wrote to him offering her services on the very day when he wrote asking her to help.

In less than a week Florence Nightingale had gathered together a party of thirty-eight nurses and sailed for the Crimea. Never before had any woman undertaken such an adventure. But her daring and determination won the praise of everyone in England. Even her parents who had before tried to hinder her career as a nurse were now on her side.

It was November, 1854, when Florence Nightingale arrived at Scutari, where the army hospitals were situated. A terrible state of affairs met her. Hundreds of wounded men were being brought in from the battles of Alma and Balaclava. Next day came the battle of Inkerman. The wounded came in batches of two hundred across the Black Sea, a fearful voyage for the sick men, who had no beds and often no blankets and only salt rations to eat. Many died on the voyage, which though it normally took only about four days, now took as much as a fortnight. At the end of the voyage the wounded men had to find their

own way up a steep hill to the hospital. There were very few stretchers, and those who were not so ill had to carry those who could not walk.

After such a miserable journey their worst troubles were yet to come. The hospital in which they were quartered was a very old and huge barrack-house. It was not fitted as a hospital and had only been chosen hurriedly at the last moment for lack of anything better. Inside there were four miles of corridors and rooms packed so closely with beds that there was scarcely space to walk between them. Beneath were great sewers which fouled the air of the whole building, whilst many of the floors were so old and worm-eaten that they could not be scrubbed. Everywhere was dirt and vermin and disease.

Vast as this make-shift hospital was, it was all too small for the endless queue of the sick and wounded who needed nursing. Beds were too few, and the sheets were of canvas and so coarse that the men preferred their own blankets and coats. There was no furniture, baths, soap, nor were there towels, brooms, spoons, plates, forks, not even any lighting, so that the men had to stick candles in beer-bottles. Medical supplies such as stretchers, drugs, bandages and splints were simply not to be had. To look after the hordes of sick men there were a few old men who knew nothing about hospitals and a few young doctors who were helpless before such scenes of suffering and misery.

Then came Florence Nightingale. With her

came a supply of all the things that were needed. On leaving England she had been told that ' nothing was needed ' at Scutari. But she was wiser, and on the way to Constantinople she secured a large supply of provisions and drugs. These she bought with the large sums of money given her by many friends to help her in the Crimea.

But she brought with her something far more valuable than money or stores. She brought determination and method. The bravest might have quailed at the scenes in the hospital at Scutari. Florence Nightingale set herself to work. Soon she had not only herself and her staff of thirty-eight nurses hard at work, but also the few doctors and many of the men who were not too ill. The old soldiers at first growled at the idea that a woman could be of any use, but they soon changed their views when they saw Florence Nightingale at work.

Day and night she toiled at Scutari. Soon the dirty wards were clean and orderly. All necessary equipment was secured for the sick men. Before she came, stores from England had been held up by the Turkish Customs, and on one occasion scores of sick and wounded men lay cold and shivering for lack of the clothes that had been sent them. Only Florence Nightingale could secure what was needed when it was needed. Six months after she arrived she had obtained for the men all the stores held up at Constantinople, and had arranged a Store House at Scutari itself. So the men

had the socks, boots, shirts and bedding they needed. 'I am now clothing the British Army,' she said.

Before Florence Nightingale came only seven shirts had been washed in the whole building, and the bedding was washed in cold water. At once she took a Turkish house, had boilers built, and set the soldiers' wives washing the clothes and bedding. Next, she fitted out the kitchens, and in future the sick men had regular meals of wholesome, well-cooked food. In a few months Florence Nightingale had transformed the Barracks at Scutari from a den of misery and disease to something like a hospital.

No wonder the soldiers worshipped her. They knew that many of them owed to her not only their comfort but their lives. Often when the surgeons had given up hope of saving a man's life Florence Nightingale's calm confidence and her tireless courage saved him. Day and night she visited every bed in the hospital to see that no patient was neglected and that all were as comfortable as possible. However hard she had worked all day, every night she would take her lamp and once more move from bed to bed in those miles of wards. 'The Lady with the Lamp', the soldiers called her, and the 'Lady with the Lamp' is the name by which the world has remembered her ever since.

When Florence Nightingale arrived at Scutari forty-two patients out of every hundred died.

Before she had been there long, only twenty-six in every thousand died. That alone was an amazing miracle. But the 'Lady with the Lamp' did more than this. She fitted out and organized hospitals for the wounded throughout the Crimea, and visited them all herself. For days she travelled in the saddle through bleak and hilly country, often for hours in the snow. Often tired and ill, she refused to rest, until at last she caught a fever and nearly died. Even in her illness she toiled on, writing, giving orders, organizing new comforts for the sick men. Her friends asked her to return to England for a rest. 'I will not go back,' she replied, 'until the last of the soldiers have left Scutari.'

For she knew her work was not yet done. Not only did she care for the sick and wounded soldiers, she also looked after those who were well. She found and furnished reading rooms for them, arranged classes and lectures, encouraged them to save their pay, so that in six months they sent home over £70,000. From that time it was Florence Nightingale, and not any great statesman or general whom soldiers, whether sick or well, had to thank for their comforts.

After a year's siege Sebastopol fell in September, 1855, and Russia had to agree to peace terms which meant that she could no longer hope to secure Constantinople, for she was forbidden to sail warships in the Black Sea.

Florence Nightingale remained at Scutari for

four months after the end of the war, and left for home in July, 1856. By this time she was the most popular person in England. Queen Victoria, who admired her very much, gave her a brooch in token of her appreciation. On the brooch was the inscription, 'Blessed are the Merciful'.

The end of the war was by no means the end of Florence Nightingale's work. She herself regarded it as merely the beginning. For the next fifty years she worked unceasingly for the reform of hospitals, especially of military hospitals. So popular was she that she could carry out many reforms by merely demanding them. The Queen supported her efforts, and so did her old friend, Sidney Herbert, the War Minister.

Florence Nightingale toiled on. To secure more spacious and better ventilated barracks for the army as well as efficient hospitals required a great struggle with the army chiefs, who regarded such ideas as molly-coddling. The Duke of Wellington who had ruled the army since Waterloo had not thought such things necessary, and what was good enough for him was good enough for all time, they thought. Florence Nightingale knew they were wrong. She knew that in peace time soldiers died at twice the civilian rate.

So she urged reforms with all her force. Since her return to England worn out by her efforts in the Crimea her health had broken down, and for the rest of her life she was an invalid. Yet from her couch in her London home which she rarely left,

she directed reforms in hospitals and barracks all over England and even in India. By 1861 the number of men in the army who died each year had been halved, and it was due to her alone. The year before, she had founded the famous Nightingale Training School for Nurses at St. Thomas's Hospital, London, and so began modern nursing.

Year after year she worked on, writing books on the training of nurses and the organization of hospitals, making suggestions for reforms, interviewing ministers and governors, always busy though an invalid. The fruits of her work are our modern hospitals and nursing.

At last after fifty years of endless toil she became too tired to work. Then it was that the government of the day bestowed on her one of the greatest of public honours, the Order of Merit. It was by the command of King Edward VII in 1907 that the Order was taken to her at her home. Very weary and very frail, Florence Nightingale was just able to realize the honour that was being given her. 'Too kind, too kind,' she murmured. Three years later, in 1910, she died. Wherever there are hospitals and nurses there the name of Florence Nightingale is held in great honour.

DR. BARNARDO

LATE one winter's evening in 1866 a young East London school teacher, named Barnardo, was shutting up his school for the night. It was a 'Ragged School': that is, one for boys and girls too poor and ragged to go to ordinary schools. Barnardo had just dismissed his pupils and was locking the doors and windows before going home himself, when he noticed a small, ragged urchin crouching in a corner near the fire, fast asleep.

'Here, my lad! Wake up!' exclaimed the young teacher. 'Off home to your mother!'

'Ain't got no mother, sir,' replied the urchin.

'Well, then, off to your father.'

'Got no father neither, sir.'

'Away to your home then, wherever it is.'

'I've got no home, sir.'

'Well, off to your friends, wherever you live.'

'I've got no friends, sir, and I don't live nowhere.'

No father or mother, no friends, no home, not even a place to live! Barnardo told himself that the boy must be lying. He had been a teacher in East London long enough to know how evil were its slums, but never yet had he met a child without some sort of home, however wretched.

The boy soon showed he was not lying, and the story he told filled the young teacher with horror

and pity. He said his name was Jim Jarvis, and his parents were dead. His days were spent in wandering the streets of London, for ever dodging the police. Sometimes he earned a few pennies by running an errand or doing an odd job, at others he stole his meals from roadside stalls and barrows. At night he slept in the warmest place he could find—sometimes in the Whitechapel haymarket, sometimes in a cart or on top of a shed. To-night he had hoped to be lucky enough to spend a warm night in Barnardo's school.

Jim Jarvis was a miserable sight. His clothes were tattered and grimy and he wore neither shoes nor socks. He was so skinny that it was clear that he never had enough to eat. He said he was ten years old but he was no bigger than a child of seven. But his eyes were bright and quick; always on the watch for what he could slip into his pocket, and always looking out for a policeman. He could neither read nor write and had never been to school. Once he worked for a bargee who beat him brutally, and he ran away. There was nobody to care for him, nobody to teach him a trade and find him a job.

How many more such homeless children were there in London? As he watched Jim Jarvis devour a huge meal of bread and butter and coffee, Barnardo wondered and he asked the boy.

'Oh yes, sir; lots of them—more than I could count!' was the reply.

He told how that many homeless children like

himself wandered about London, and at night gathered in bands for warmth and slept on roof tops or in hay carts or among the bales and crates of London's markets and docks. Barnardo refused to believe this until he could see for himself. So, late that night, Jim Jarvis led him out into the streets and alleys of East London. From market to market and up and down countless narrow lanes and passages they tramped, searching in every sheltered corner where a child might sleep. Barnardo was about to give up, when Jim stopped by a high wall.

'Up there, sir!' he pointed.

He clambered up and showed Barnardo the way. Asleep on the roof with their feet in the gutter, lay eleven urchins like Jim Jarvis. Most of them were older than he was, but all were just as ragged and thin and dirty. Everyone of them was homeless and destitute. Barnardo did not wake them. He could do nothing to help them now.

'There's lots more,' Jim kept on saying as they returned homewards. But Barnardo did not want to see any more. What he had already seen made him crave to devote the rest of his life to the cause of London's homeless children.

Jim Jarvis was the first destitute child Barnardo took in. He never refused to help another. Since that night in 1866 the Homes he founded have cared for well over a hundred thousand children. Thousands of others have been given meals and clothes and other help. In many of the large cities

of Britain there are Dr. Barnardo's Homes, whose doors are ever open to homeless boys and girls. All over the world you may meet men and women who owe everything to these Homes. Among them are doctors, lawyers, teachers, missionaries, musicians, artists, and Cabinet Ministers. And it all began when Thomas John Barnardo found Jim Jarvis.

Barnardo was an Irishman of Spanish descent and was born in Dublin on 4 July 1845. From childhood he was strong-willed and masterful, and apt to burst into fits of rage if he could not get his way. He hated school and despised examinations, but eagerly read every book he could find so long as it was not a school book. On leaving school he went into business where his quick intelligence and his determination soon brought him success. Yet he was not fond of business. He was deeply religious, and money-making did not content his soul. He longed to be of great service to his fellow-men. Suddenly his chance seemed to come. One day he heard a missionary call for volunteers to go with him to preach the Gospel and heal the sick in China. At once Barnardo offered to go. Forsaking his job he went to London to train as a missionary.

While he was a student in London, Barnardo spent his spare time preaching at street corners and teaching in Ragged Schools in East London. Soon after he arrived in London a terrible epidemic of cholera swept the City, and thousands fell

victim in the slums of East London alone. Barnardo worked day and night to relieve suffering and to help the bereaved and destitute. Never could he forget what he had seen in those ghastly days, and he was filled with a longing to do all he could for the poor people of East London, particularly the children. Soon he resolved to start a Ragged School of his own. The new school was held in a disused donkey-shed which Barnardo repaired, whitewashed and fitted out as a classroom. Here every evening came poor and ragged children who wanted to learn to read and write, and here came Jim Jarvis hoping to find a warm night's rest.

Barnardo soon found Jim Jarvis a home where he was well cared for and sent to school. Some years later Jim went to Canada, where he became a prosperous farmer. But what of all the other homeless boys of London? Barnardo had saved one, but how could he help the others? It did not take him long to discover that there were far more of these waifs in East London than ever he could count. Unaided, he could do nothing for them. Besides, soon he would have to leave England and go to China as a missionary.

Yet he could not forget the night he found Jim Jarvis. China and her needs were far away. Here were children at home who urgently needed his help now. Surely this would be missionary work? Barnardo began to wonder whether he ought not to give up his plan of going to China,

and stay at home to help the waifs and strays of London.

But he felt himself helpless to do anything. How could he, an unknown missionary student with very little money, undertake so great a task as this? One day he went to a meeting where a famous man was to appeal for men to volunteer as missionaries. Just before the time for the speech a message came saying that the great man was ill. The meeting was about to be abandoned when someone thought of Barnardo, the student who was going to China. So Barnardo was asked to speak. The hall was packed, and Barnardo at first could think of nothing to say. Then he thought of Jim Jarvis and at once began to tell how he had found the homeless boy and how he had seen many others like him. He appealed to his hearers to help the homeless children of London. Here was missionary work they could do which was just as valuable as sending missionaries to China. Was it not a disgrace to a Christian country that thousands of its children should have no friends or home?

As Barnardo was about to go home that night a young maidservant hurried up to him, told him that she had been saving up farthings for weeks to help the missionaries, and then put a small bag into his hands, which she said contained all her savings. 'Surely to help these homeless lads is missionary work?' she cried, and ran away before Barnardo could reply. On opening the bag he found

twenty-seven farthings. It was the first gift he ever received on behalf of the waifs of London. Now he knew that he would have to devote his life to the cause of the homeless lads of London. He could not go to China while this work remained to be done.

A few days after this, all London was talking of what Barnardo had revealed that night. Some people said it was all nonsense and that Barnardo was lying. Others were not so sure and were seriously worried. Among these was Lord Shaftesbury, the famous reformer who was President of the Ragged Schools. For many years Shaftesbury had worked hard for children in mines and factories and big cities, and here was a young man who spoke of thousands of homeless children of whom he knew nothing. He at once asked Barnardo to dine with him and a few friends in order to find out more about these children. Many were the questions Barnardo was asked that evening before Shaftesbury and his friends were satisfied. 'If what you say is true,' asked one, 'can you show us the sights you have described?' Barnardo said he would do so gladly at any time. 'Why not to-night?' asked Lord Shaftesbury. So although it was nearly midnight the party at once set off for the East End of London.

At first they could find no children. It was a bitter, windy night, and Shaftesbury and his friends began to think that no child would be found sleeping out on such a night. Then they came to

a huge pile of barrels and crates, covered with tarpaulin. Groping about this, Barnardo suddenly discovered a ragged boy, looking half-starved. Soon he found more, and when Lord Shaftesbury promised a penny and a free meal to all who would come out of their hiding places, seventy-three others quickly appeared. After they had devoured a huge meal of sausages, bread and butter and coffee at a shop near by, Lord Shaftesbury lined them up and gave them each the promised penny. He had seen enough. Now he knew that all Barnardo had told him was true, and he promised to help the young man in every way.

The beginnings of Barnardo's work for the outcasts of London were small enough. He rented the assembly rooms over the King's Arms, a public-house in the Mile End Road. Here he ran a Mission Hall for boys and girls. But in a short time he fell ill and several months passed before he could begin work once more. When his health returned, he rented two cottages and began his mission services again. He also ran a Sunday School and a night school, a penny bank, a library, a class where girls could learn to sew, and many other services for poor children and young men and women. All the time he was learning more about the work he had to do and finding more and more helpers and supporters.

Eager as he was to help the waifs and strays of London, and impatient as he was by nature, Barnardo resolved to go about the work he had

set himself in a calm, businesslike way. Hasty work and too great boldness might ruin all. He must be a man others could trust, one who was beyond reproach, for many would be his enemies. He studied medicine and qualified as a doctor in order that he himself might be sure that the health of the children in his care was not neglected through lack of knowledge. He resolved never to get into debt, and for many years refused to borrow a penny for his work. His Homes, he declared, must never get into debt, or else disaster might fall on the children who believed in him. In all his plans and schemes the welfare and happiness of the children in his care was his chief concern.

Ever since the night he found Jim Jarvis, Dr. Barnardo had made it his business to find homes for boys like Jim. By the year 1870 this work had grown enormously. Every inch of space in his two cottages was used for his schools and mission services. So many children crowded into his rooms for lessons that they began to complain that they had no room to breathe. And yet every day more and more children came to Dr. Barnardo asking for help. A new home had to be found, and at the end of 1870 Barnardo rented a building at No. 18 Stepney Causeway. Here he had room for 60 boys. Soon Stepney Causeway was the headquarters of Dr. Barnardo's work.

Boys who came for help to Dr. Barnardo's Home were not merely given a bed and meals. They learned to be useful citizens. They went to

school, they had plenty of outdoor games and sports, and they were taught some trade such as carpentry, shoe-making or bookbinding, by which they could earn a living. No boy under Dr. Barnardo's care was allowed to be idle. While he could, Barnardo found outside homes for his boys where they could be brought up as members of a family. Later he helped boys to emigrate to Canada where many, like Jim Jarvis, became farmers. Yet money was scarce and Barnardo was still resolved never to run into debt. All depended on the kindness of those who would give him money for his work, and never a penny did he waste. But always there were more children needing help than there were pounds to help them.

One day a shivering, hungry boy of eleven came to Barnardo and asked to be taken into his home. Nicknamed 'Carrots' by his friends, he sold matches in the streets to earn a living. He had no home, for his mother had turned him out when he was barely seven years old. The weather was cold and wet, 'Carrots' did not feel well and had sold very few matches. So he came to Dr. Barnardo for help. But every bed in the Home was full and Barnardo had to tell the boy to come back a week later. Meanwhile he gave 'Carrots' a hot meal and some money to help him on his way until there was room for him. A week later some workmen found 'Carrots' in Billingsgate, dead. At the inquest it was said that he had died of cold and hunger.

Barnardo was horrified when he heard the news. He could not help blaming himself for the boy's death. He told himself that at all costs he ought to have made room for 'Carrots'. There and then he made a solemn resolve never again to refuse to take in any child who had no home—even if it meant running into debt. Outside the Home in Stepney Causeway he hung a bold notice which said: 'No destitute child ever refused admission.' And since that day the doors of Dr. Barnardo's Homes have never been shut in the face of any homeless child.

At first only boys were taken in Dr. Barnardo's Homes, but soon he saw that there were as many homeless girls as boys wandering the streets of London. Something had to be done to help them. But what? Barnardo was convinced that these girls ought to be cared for in a way that would make up for their lack of homes and families of their own. Soon he hit on the idea of cottage homes, as he called them. He bought a plot of land in Essex and there built eleven cottages. To each cottage there was a 'mother' who had a number of girls in her care. The Girls' Village Home proved a great success. It has been called 'the loveliest village in the world'. With its own church and hospital and over 80 cottages it has a population of well over a thousand girls. Here girls not only go to school and have a chance to fit themselves for a chosen career, they can also learn to cook and sew, to look after

children and to do all the other duties of keeping house.

Barnardo's success soon began to gain him enemies. Some were jealous of his triumphs and spread stories that he was making huge profits out of the money given to him to help children. Others accused him of ill-treating and half-starving the children in his Homes. So many and unjust were the slanders put about by Barnardo's enemies that a public enquiry had to be held. The Homes were carefully inspected and all the accounts examined. Every one of the charges made by his enemies was proved to be false and Dr. Barnardo's Homes were highly praised by the inspectors.

But more trouble was made by Barnardo's enemies. Parents of children in his care were encouraged to accuse Barnardo of kidnapping their children. Some who had turned their children on the streets many years earlier would come forward and claim them after Barnardo had cared for them, educated them and sent them to Canada. As the law said that no one but a child's parents could be his lawful guardians, Barnardo was forced to give way. Fighting the claims of such parents cost him a great deal of money, but he refused to give up the care of his children without a fight. The children he had brought up could earn a living of their own, and he knew only too well that parents who till now had done nothing for their children could only be trying to lay hands on the money they could get out of them. Many were the hours

Barnardo spent in the courts, but the law was against him, though often the judges wished him well and condemned the unscrupulous parents. At last public opinion demanded a change in the law. In 1891 Parliament passed an Act known as the 'Barnardo Act'. This permitted Homes such as Dr. Barnardo's to take care of children neglected by their parents and to refuse to allow such parents to claim back their children when they could earn a living of their own. Barnardo had won yet another victory for homeless children.

In spite of all attacks, Dr. Barnardo's Homes helped more and more children every year. Village homes for boys as well as girls were founded in many parts of the country and overseas. Hospitals and homes for cripple children were started, and in fourteen cities of Great Britain were to be found the famous 'Ever Open Doors', where destitute children were taken in at any time of day or night. By the time Dr. Barnardo died in 1905 he had cared for over 60,000 children. And the number of children all over the world who owe to him their chance in life is still growing. Wherever you travel now, you will meet men and women who are proud to say that they once belonged to Dr. Barnardo's Homes.

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